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CONTENTS

PAGE

A CHINESE EXPEDITION ACROSS THE PAMIRS AND HINDUKUSH A.D. 747
BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. 161

WOU-P'ING-HIEN 武平縣 (ILLUSTRATED) - - BY JOS. MULLIE 184

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF CHINKIANG OR A BIT OF "CONSULAR BLUFF" - - - - - - BY W. J. CLENNELL 195

TWO ART OBJECTS (ILLUSTRATED) - - BY R. D. ABRAHAM 233

SOME ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE
BY PH. DE VARGAS, DOCTEUR ÈS LETTRES 234

RECENT LITERATURE - - - - - - - - - - 248

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Scale 1/700,000 or 1 Inch = 11 Miles

5 0 5 10 15

Routes assumed to have been used by the Chinese expeditionary force, A.D. 747.

Indicates approximately the extent of permanent snow.

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. IV. JUNE, 1922. NO. 3.

A CHINESE EXPEDITION ACROSS THE PAMIRS AND HINDUKUSH

A.D. 747

BY

SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

At the beginning of my second Central-Asian journey (1906-08), and again at that of the third (1913-16), I had the good fortune to visit ground in the high snowy range of the Hindukush which, however inaccessible and remote it may seem from the scenes of the great historical dramas of Asia, was yet in the 8th century A.D. destined to witness events bound up with a struggle of momentous bearing for vast areas of the continent. I mean the glacier pass of the Darkōt (15,400 feet above the sea level) and the high valleys to the north and south of it through which leads an ancient route connecting the Pāmīrs and the uppermost headwaters of the Oxus with the Dard territories on the Indus, and thus with the north-west marches of India. *

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* [Two sketch-maps should accompany this article, with the kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society, in whose *Journal* (February, 1922) this paper was first published. Unfortunately the blocks have not yet arrived at the time of going to press. Ed. N. C. R.]

For convenient reference regarding the general topography of this mountain region may be recommended also Sheet No. 42 of the 1 : 1,000,000 map of Asia published by the Survey of India (Calcutta, 1919).

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The events referred to arose from the prolonged conflict with the Arabs in the west and the rising power of the Tibetans in the south into which the Chinese empire under the T'ang dynasty was brought by its policy of Central-Asian expansion. Our knowledge of the memorable expedition of which I propose to treat here and of the historical developments leading up to it is derived wholly from the official Chinese records contained in the *Annals* of the T'ang dynasty. They were first rendered generally accessible by the extracts which M. Chavannes, the great Sinologue, published in his invaluable *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux.* *

In order to understand fully the details of the remarkable exploit which brought a Chinese army right across the high inhospitable plateaus of the Pāmīrs to the uppermost Oxus valley, and thence across the ice-covered Darkōt down to the valleys of Yāsīn and Gilgit draining into the Indus, it is necessary to pay closest regard to the topography of that difficult ground. Modern developments arising from the Central-Asian interests of two great Asiatic powers, the British and Russian empires, have since the eighties of the last century helped greatly to add to our knowledge of the regions comprised in, or adjacent to, the great mountain massif in the centre of Asia which classical geography designated by the vague but convenient name of *Imaos*. But much of the detailed topographical information is not as yet generally accessible to students. Even more than elsewhere personal familiarity with the ground in its topographical and antiquarian aspects seems here needed for a full comprehension of historical details.

This local knowledge I was privileged to acquire in the course of the two Central-Asian expeditions already referred to, and, accordingly, I have taken occasion to elucidate the facts connected with that memorable Chinese exploit in *Serindia*, the detailed report on my second journey, recently issued from the Oxford University Press. The bulk and largely archæological contents of this work may prevent that account from attracting the attention of the geographical student. Hence, with the kind permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity to communicate here the main results of my investigations.

Some preliminary remarks seem needed to make clear the political and military situation which prevailed in Central Asia during the first half of the 8th century A.D. and which accounted

* *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, recueillis et commentés par Edouard Chavannes, Membre de l'Institut*, etc., published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, 1903; see in particular pp. 149-154.

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for the enterprise to be discussed here.* After a long and difficult struggle the Chinese under the great T'ang emperors T'ai-tsung 太宗 (A.D. 627-650) and Kao-tsung 高宗 (A.D. 650-684) succeeded in vanquishing first the Northern Turks (A.D. 630), and after a short interval also the Western Turks. They were the principal branches of that great Turkish nation which since its victory over the Juan-juan (Avars) and the Hoa, or Hephthalites, about the middle of the 7th century had made itself master of inner Asia. By A.D. 659 the Chinese had regained political predominance, and for the most part also military control, over the great Central-Asian territories roughly corresponding to what is now known as Chinese Turkestān, after having lost them for about four centuries. †

This renewed effort at Central-Asian expansion, like that first made by the great Han emperor Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.), had for its object partly the protection of north-western China from nomadic inroads and partly the control of the great Central-Asian trade route passing through the Tārīm Basin. Stretching from east to west between the great mountain ranges of the T'ien-shan in the north and the K'un-lun in the south, the Tārīm Basin is filled for the most part by huge drift-sand deserts. Yet it was destined by nature to serve as the main overland line for the trade intercourse between the Far East and Western Asia, and recent archæological explorations have abundantly proved its great importance generally for the interchange of civilizations between China, India, Irān, and the classical West.

During Han times, when China's great export trade of silk had first begun about 110 B.C. to find its way westwards through the strings of oases scattered along the foot of the T'ien-shan and K'un-lun, the Chinese hold upon the 'Western Kingdoms' with their settled and highly civilized populations had been threatened mainly by inroads of the Huns and other nomadic tribes from the north. After the reconquest under the Emperor Kao-tsung the situation was essentially different. The danger from the nomadic north had lessened. Troubles with the medley of Turkish tribes left in possession of the wide grazing areas beyond the T'ien-shan never ceased. Yet the Chinese administration by a well-organized system of garrisons, and still more by diplomatic skill, was well able to hold them in check. But additional and

* For a masterly exposition from Chinese and Western sources of all historical facts here briefly summed up, see M. Chavannes '*Essai sur l'histoire des Tou-kiue occidentaux*,' forming the concluding portion of his *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 217-303.

† Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 266 sqq.

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greater dangers had soon to be faced from other sides. The claim to the succession of the whole vast dominion of the Western Turks was drawing the administration of the Chinese protectorate, established in the Tārīm Basin and known as the 'Four Garrisons,' into constant attempts to assert effective authority also to the west of the great meridional range, the ancient *Imaos*, in the regions comprising what is now Russian and Afghān Turkestān. *

Considering the vast distances separating these regions from China proper and the formidable difficulties offered by the intervening great deserts and mountain ranges, Chinese control over them was from the outset bound to be far more precarious than that over the Tārīm Basin. But the dangers besetting Chinese dominion in Central Asia increased greatly with the appearance of two new forces upon the scene. Already in the last quarter of the seventh century the newly rising power of the Tibetans seriously threatened, and for a time effaced, the Chinese hold upon the Tārīm Basin. † Even after its recovery by the Chinese in A.D. 692 the struggle never quite ceased.

Another and almost equally great threat to China's Central-Asian dominion arose in the west through the advance of Arab conquest to the Oxus and beyond. About A.D. 670 it had already made itself felt in Tokhāristān, the important territory on the middle Oxus comprising the greater part of the present Afghān Turkestān. Between A.D. 705 and 715 the campaigns of the famous Arab general Qotaïba had carried the Mohammedan arms triumphantly into Sogdiana, between Oxus and Yaxartes, and even further. ‡ By taking advantage of internal troubles among the Arabs and by giving support to all the principalities between the Yaxartes and the Hindukush which the Arabs threatened with extinction, the Chinese managed for a time to stem this wave of Mohammedan aggression. But the danger continued from this side, and the Chinese position in Central Asia became even more seriously jeopardised when the Tibetans soon after A.D. 741 advanced to the Oxus Valley and succeeded in joining hands with the Arabs against their common foes.

Baulked for the time in their attempts to secure the Tārīm Basin, the Tibetans had only one line open to effect this junction.

* For very interesting notices of the administrative organization which the Chinese attempted soon after A.D. 659 to impose upon the territories from the Yaxartes to the Oxus and even south of the Hindukush, see Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 268 sqq.

† Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 280 sqq.

‡ See Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 288 sqq.

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It led first down the Indus from Ladāk through Baltistān (the 'Great P'o-lü' 大勃律 of the Chinese Annals) to the Hindukush territories of Gilgit and Yāsīn, both comprised in the 'Little P'o-lü' 小勃律 of the Chinese records.* Thence the passes of the Darkōt and the Barōghil—the latter a saddle in the range separating the Oxus from the Chitrāl River headwaters—would give the Tibetans access to Wakhān; through this open portion of the upper Oxus Valley and through fertile Badakhshān the Arabs established on the Middle Oxus might be reached with comparative ease. But an advance along the previous portions of this route was beset with very serious difficulties, not merely on account of the great height of the passes to be traversed and of the extremely confined nature of the gorges met with on the Indus and the Gilgit River, but quite as much through the practical absence of local resources sufficient to feed an invading force anywhere between Ladāk and Badakhshān.

Nevertheless the persistent advance of the Tibetans along this difficult line is clearly traceable in the Chinese records. 'Great P'o-l'ü,' i.e., Baltistān, had already become subject to them before A.D. 722. About that time they attacked 'Little P'o-lü,' declaring, as the T'ang Annals tell us, to Mo-chin-mang 沒謹忙 its king, "It is not your kingdom which we covet, but we wish to use your route in order to attack the Four Garrisons 四鎮 (i.e., the Chinese in the Tārīm Basin)".† In A.D. 722 timely military aid rendered by the Chinese enabled this king to defeat the Tibetan design. But after three changes of reign the Tibetans won over his successor Su-shih-li-chih 蘇失利之, and inducing him to marry a Tibetan princess secured a footing in "Little P'o-lü." "Thereupon," in the words of the *T'ang shu*, "more than twenty kingdoms to the north-west became all subject to the Tibetans".‡ These events occurred shortly after A.D. 741. §

The danger thus created by the junction between Tibetans and Arabs forced the Chinese to special efforts to recover their

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* Cf. for this identification Chavannes, '*Turcs occidentaux*,' p. 150, and '*Notes supplémentaires*'; also my '*Ancient Khotan*,' i. pp. 6 sqq.

† See Chavannes, '*Turcs occidentaux*,' p. 150.

‡ Cf Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 151. By the twenty kingdoms are obviously meant petty hill principalities on the upper Oxus from Wakhān downwards and probably also others in the valleys south of Hindukush, such as Mastūj and Chitrāl.

§ Cf. Stein. *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 7. A.D. 741 is the date borne by the Imperial edict investing Su-shih-li-chih's immediate predecessor; its text is still extant in the records extracted by M. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 21 sqq.

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hold upon Yāsīn and Gilgit. Three successive expeditions despatched by the "Protector of the Four Garrisons," the Chinese Governor-General, had failed, when a special decree of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung in A.D. 747 entrusted the Deputy Protector Kao Hsien-chih 高仙芝, a general of Korean extraction, commanding the military forces in the Tārīm Basin, with the enterprise to be traced here.

We owe our detailed knowledge of it to the official biography of Kao Hsien-chih preserved in the T'ang Annals and translated by M. Chavannes. To that truly great scholar, through whose premature death in 1918 all branches of historical research concerning the Far East and Central Asia have suffered an irreparable loss, belongs full credit for having recognized that Kao Hsien-chih's remarkable expedition led him and his force across the Pāmīrs and over the Barōghil and Darkōt passes. But he did not attempt to trace in detail the actual routes followed by Kao Hsien-chih on this hazardous enterprise or to localize the scenes of all its striking events. To do this in the light of personal acquaintance with the topography of these regions, their physical conditions, and their scanty ancient remains, is my object in the following pages.

With a force of 10,000 cavalry and infantry Kao Hsien-chih started in the spring of A.D. 747 from *An-hsi* 安西, then the headquarters of the Chinese administration in the Tārīm Basin and corresponding to the present town and oasis of Kuchā.* In thirty-five days he reached *Su-lê* 疏勒, or Kāshgar, through Ak-su and by the great caravan road leading along the foot of the T'ien-shan. Twenty days more brought his force to the military 'post of the Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺 mountains,' established in the position of the present Tāsh-kurghān in Sarīkol.†

* For these and all other details taken from M. Chavannes' translation of Kao Hsien-chih's biography in the *T'ang shu*, see *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 152 sqq.

† *Ts'ung-ling* or "the Onion Mountains" is the ancient Chinese designation for the great snowy range which connects the T'ien-shan in the north with the K'un-lun and Hindukush in the south and forms the mighty eastern rim of the Pāmīrs. The Chinese term is sometimes extended to the high valleys and plateaus of the latter also. The range culminates near its centre in the great ice-clad peak of Muztāgh-atā and those to the north of it, rising to over 25,000 feet above sea level. It is to this great mountain chain, through which all routes from the Oxus to the Tārīm Basin pass, that the term *Imaos* is clearly applied in Ptolemy's *Geography*.

The great valley of Sarīkol, situated over 10,000 feet above sea level, largely cultivated in ancient times, forms the natural base for any military operations across the Pāmīrs; for early accounts of it in Chinese historical texts and in the records of old travellers from the East and West, cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 27 sqq. Descriptions of the present Sarīkol and of the two main routes which connect it with Kāshgar, through the Gez Valley to the north of Muztāgh-atā and across the Chichiklik Pass in the south, are given in my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 67 sqq., and *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 89 sqq.

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Thence by a march of twenty days the "valley of Po-mi" 播蜜川, or the Pāmīrs, was gained, and after another twenty days he arrived in "the kingdom of the five Shih-ni" 識匿, i.e., the present Shighnān on the Oxus.

The marching distance here indicated agrees well with the time which large caravans of men and transport animals would at present need to cover the same ground. But how the Chinese general managed to feed so large a force after once it had entered the tortuous gorges and barren high valleys beyond the outlying oases of the present Kāshgar and Yangi-hissār districts is a problem which might look formidable, indeed, to any modern commander. The biography in the Annals particularly notes that "at that time the foot soldiers all kept horses (i.e., ponies) on their own account." Such a provision of transport must have considerably increased the mobility of the Chinese troops. But it also implied greatly increased difficulties on the passage through ranges which, with the exception of certain portions of the Pāmīrs, do not afford sufficient grazing to keep animals alive without liberal provision of fodder.

It was probably as a strategic measure meant to reduce the difficulties of supply in this inhospitable Pāmīr region that Kao Hsien-chih divided his forces into three columns before starting his attack upon the position held by the Tibetans at the fortress of *Lien-yün* 連雲堡. M. Chavannes has shown good reason for assuming that by the river *P'o-lê* 婆勒 (or *So-lê* 娑勒), which is described as flowing in front of Lien-yün, is meant the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, and that Lien-yün itself occupied a position corresponding to the present village of Sarhad, but on the opposite, or southern, side of the river, where the route from the Barōghil Pass debouches on the Ab-i-Panja. We shall return to this identification in detail hereafter. Here it will suffice to show that this location is also clearly indicated by the details recorded of the concentration of Kao Hsien-chih's forees upon Lien-yün.

Of the three columns which were to operate from different directions and to effect a simultaneous junction before Lien-yün on the thirteenth day of the seventh month (about the middle of August), the main force under Kao Hsien-chih himself and the Imperial Commissioner Pien Ling-ch'êng 邊令誠 passed through the kingdom of Hu-mi 護密, or Wakhān, ascending the main Oxus valley from the west. Another column which is said to have moved upon Lien-yün by the route of *Ch'ih-fo-t'ang* 赤佛堂,

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'the shrine of the red Buddha', * may be assumed, in view of a subsequent mention of this route below, to have operated from the opposite direction down the headwaters of the Ab-i-Panja. These could be reached without serious difficulty from the Sarīkol base either over the Tāgh-dumbāsh Pāmīr and the Wakhjīr Pass (16,200 feet), † or by way of the Naiza-tāsh Pass and the Little Pāmīr.

Finally, a third column composed of 3,000 horsemen, which was to make its way to Lien-yün by *Pei-ku* 北谷, or 'the northern gorge,' may be supposed to have descended from the side of the Great Pāmīr. For such a move from the north either one of the several passes could be used which lead across the Nicholas Range south-east of Victoria Lake, or possibly a glacier track, as yet unexplored, leading from the latter into one of the gorges which debouch east of Sarhad. ‡ In any case it is clear that by thus bringing up his forces on convergent but wholly distinct lines, and by securing for himself a fresh base in distant Shighnān, the Chinese general effectively guarded against those difficulties of supplies and transport which then as now, would make the united move of so large a body of men across the Pāmīrs a physical impossibility.

The crossing of the Pāmīrs by a force which in its total strength amounted to ten thousand men is so remarkable a military achievement that the measures which alone probably made it possible deserve some closer examination, however succinct the Chinese record is upon which we have to base it. So much appears to me clear that the march was not effected in one body but in three columns moving up from Kāshgar in successive stages by routes of which Tāsh-kurghān, 'the post of the Ts'ung-ling Mountains,' was the advanced base or *point d'appui*. If Kao Hsien-chih moved ahead with the first column or detachment to Shighnān and was followed at intervals by the other two detachments the advantages gained as regards supplies and transport must have been very great. His own column would have reached a fresh base of supplies in Shighnān while the second was moving across the main Pāmīr, and the third arriving

* The term *fo-t'ang* 佛堂 which M. Chavannes translates "la salle du Bouddha . . . " designates, according to Dr. Giles's Chinese-English Dictionary, p. 1330, "a family shrine or oratory for the worship of Buddha." Considering the locality, the rendering of *t'ang* by "shrine" seems here appropriate.

† For descriptions of this route, cf. my *Ruins of Khotan* pp. 60 sqq., and *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 83 sqq.

‡ Regarding the existence of this track, cf. the information obtained in the course of my third Central-Asian journey, *Geographical Journal*, xlviii (1916), p. 216.

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in Sarīkol from the plains. Thus the great strain of having to feed simultaneously the whole force on ground absolutely without local resources was avoided. It must be remembered that once established on the Oxus, the Chinese Commissariat could easily draw upon the abundant produce of Badakhshān, and that for the column left on the Pāmīrs the comparatively easy route across the Alai would be available for drawing supplies from the rich plains of Farghāna, then still under Chinese control.

By disposing his force *en échelon* from Shighnān to Sarīkol Kao Hsien-chih obtained also a strategically advantageous position. He was thus able to concert the simultaneous convergent movement of his columns upon the Tibetans at Sarhad without unduly exposing any of his detachments to separate attack and defeat by a superior Tibetan force; for the Tibetans could not leave their position at Sarhad without imminent risk of being cut off from the Barōghil, their only line of communication. At the same time the disposition of the Chinese forces effectively precluded any Tibetan advance either upon Sarīkol or Badakhshān. Difficult as Kao Hsien-chih's operations must have been across the Pāmīrs, yet he had the great advantage of commanding two, if not three, independent lines of supplies (from Kāshgar-Yārkand; Badakhshān; eventually Farghāna), whereas the Tibetan force of about equal strength, cooped up at the debouchure of the Barōghil, had only a single line, and one of exceptional natural difficulty, to fall back upon. Of the territories of Yāsīn, Gilgit, Baltistān, through which this line led, we know that they could not provide any surplus supplies for an army. *

The problem, as it seems to me, is not so much how the Chinese general succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of his operations across the Pāmīrs, but how the Tibetans ever managed to bring a force of nine or ten thousand men across the Darkōt to Sarhad and to maintain it there in the almost total absence of local resources. It is certainly significant that neither before nor after these events do we hear of any other attempt of the Tibetans to attack the Chinese power in the Tārīm Basin by way of the uppermost Oxus, constant, and in the end successful, as their aggression was during the eighth century A.D.

The boldness of the plan which made Kao Hsien-chih's offensive possible and crowned it with deserved success must, I think, command admiration quite as much as the actual crossing of the Darkōt. The student of military history has, indeed,

* Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 11 sqq.

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reason to regret that the Chinese record does not furnish us with any details about the organization which rendered this first and, as far as we know, last crossing of the Pāmīrs by a large regular force possible. But whatever our opinion may be about the fighting qualities of the Chinese soldier as judged by our standards —and there is significant evidence of their probably not having been much more serious in T'ang times than they are now,—it is certain that those who know the formidable obstacles of deserts and mountains which Chinese troops have successfully faced and overcome during modern times, will not feel altogether surprised at the power of resource and painstaking organization which the success of Kao Hsien-chih's operations indisputably attests in that long-forgotten Chinese leader and those who shared his efforts.

The location of *Lien-yün* near Sarhad, as originally proposed by M. Chavannes, is confirmed by the description of the battle by which the Chinese general rendered himself master of the Tibetan position and of the route it was intended to guard. The three Chinese columns, operating, as I have shown, from the west, east and north, "had agreed to effect their junction on the thirteenth day of the seventh month (August) between seven and nine o'clock in the morning at the Tibetan stronghold of Lien-yün. In that stronghold there were a thousand soldiers; moreover, at a distance of fifteen *li* (about three miles) to the south of the rampart, advantage had been taken of the mountains to erect palisades behind which there were eight to nine thousand troops. At the foot of the rampart there flowed the river of the valley of *P'o-lê* which was in flood and could not be crossed *. Kao Hsien-chih made an offering of three victims to the river; he directed his captains to select their best soldiers and their best horses; each man carried rations of dry food for three days. In the morning they assembled by the river bank. As the waters were difficult to cross, officers and soldiers all thought the enterprise senseless. But when the other river bank was reached, neither had the men wetted their standards nor the horses their saddle cloths.

"After the troops had crossed and formed their ranks, Kao Hsien-chih, overjoyed, said to Pien Ling-ch'êng (the Imperial Commissioner): 'For a moment, while we were in the midst of the passage, our force was beaten if the enemy had come. Now that we have crossed and formed ranks, it is proof that Heaven delivers our enemies into our hands.' He at once ascended the

* M. Chavannes has shown ('*Turcs occidentaux*,' p. 154) that this name *P'o-lê* is a misreading, easily explained in Chinese writing for *So-lê* mentioned elsewhere as a town in Hu-mi or Wakhān.

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mountain and engaged in a battle which lasted from the *ch'én* period (7-9 a.m.) to the *ssŭ* period (9-11 a.m.) He inflicted a great defeat upon the barbarians, who fled when the night came. He pursued them, killed 5,000 men and made 1,000 prisoners; all the rest dispersed. He took more than 1,000 horses, and warlike stores and arms beyond counting."

The analysis given above of the routes followed by the Chinese columns and what we shall show below of Kao Hsien-chih's three days' march to Mount *T'an-chü* 坦駒嶺, or the Darkōt, confirm M. Chavannes in locating the Tibetan stronghold of Lien-yün near the present Sarhad, the last permanent settlement on the uppermost Oxus. It is equally clear from the description of the river crossing that the Chinese concentration must have taken place on the right or northern bank of the Ab-i-Panja, where the hamlets constituting the present Sarhad are situated, while the stronghold of Lien-yün lay on the opposite left bank.

Before I was able to visit the ground in May, 1906, I had already expressed the belief that the position taken up by the Tibetan main force, fifteen *li* (circ. 3 miles) to the south of Lien-yün, must be looked for in the valley which debouches on the Ab-i-Panja opposite to Sarhad *. It is through this open valley that the remarkable depression in the main Hindukush range represented by the Barōghil and Shawitakh saddles (12,460 and 12,560 feet, respectively) is gained. I also surmised that the Chinese general, apart from the confidence aroused by the successful river crossing, owed his victory mainly to a flanking movement by which his troops gained the heights and thus successfully turned the fortified line behind which the Tibetans were awaiting them.

This opinion was confirmed by what I saw of the valley leading to the Oxus on my descent from the Barōghil on May 19, 1906, and by the examination I was able to make two days later of the mountain-side flanking its debouchure from the west. The valley into which the route leads down from the Barōghil is quite open and easy about Zartighar, the southernmost hamlet. There a ruined watch-tower shows that defence of the route had been a concern also in modern times. Further down the valley-bottom gradually contracts, though still offering easy going, until, from a point about two miles below Zartighar to beyond the scattered homesteads of Pitkhar, † its width is reduced to between one-half and one-third of a mile. On both sides this defile is flanked

* See *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 7.

† The *Pixkhar* of sketch-map *B* is a misprint.

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by high and very precipitous rocky ridges, the last offshoots of spurs which descend from the main Hindukush watershed.

These natural defences seemed to provide just the kind of position which would recommend itself to the Tibetans wishing to bar approach to the Barōghil, and thus to safeguard their sole line of communication with the Indus Valley. The width of the defile accounts for the comparatively large number of defenders recorded by the Chinese Annals for the enemy's main line; the softness of the ground at its bottom, which is almost perfectly level, covered with fine grass in the summer, and distinctly swampy in the spring owing to imperfect drainage, explain the use of palisades, at first sight a rather strange method of fortification in these barren mountains. * Finally the position seemed to agree curiously well with what two historical instances of modern times, the fights in 1904 at Guru and on the Karo-lā, had revealed as the typical and time-honoured Tibetan scheme of defence—to await attack behind a wall erected across the open ground of a valley or saddle.

There remained the question whether the defile of Pitkhar was capable of being turned by an attack on the flanking heights, such as the Chinese record seemed plainly to indicate. The possibility of such a movement on the east was clearly precluded by the extremely precipitous character of the flanking spur, and still more by the fact that the summer flood of the Ab-i-Panja in the very confined gorge above Sarhad would have rendered that spur inaccessible for the Chinese operating from the northern bank of the river. All the greater was my satisfaction when I heard from my Wakhī informants of ruins of an ancient fort, known as *Kansir*, situated on the precipitous crest of the flanking spur westwards, almost opposite to Pitkhar. During the single day's halt, which to my regret was all that circumstances would allow me at Sarhad, I was kept too busy otherwise to make a close

* In my note in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 9, I had ventured to suggest that, considering how scanty timber must at all times have been about Sarhad, there was some probability that walls or "Sangars" constructed of loose stones were really meant by the "palisades" mentioned in the translation of the passage from the T'ang Annals.

This suggestion illustrates afresh the risk run in doubting the accuracy of Chinese records on quasi-topographical points without adequate local knowledge. On the one hand, I found that the peculiar nature of the soil in the defile would make the construction of heavy stone walls inadvisable, if not distinctly difficult. On the other, my subsequent march up the Ab-i-Panja showed that, though timber was as scarce about Sarhad itself as I had been led to assume, yet there was abundance of willow and other jungle in parts of the narrow river gorge one march higher up near the debouchure of the Shaor and Bahārak streams. This could well have been used for palisades after being floated down by the river.

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inspection of the ground where the Tibetan post of Lien-yün might possibly have been situated. Nothing was known locally of old remains on the open alluvial plain which adjoins the river at the mouth of the valley coming from the Barōghil; nor were such likely to survive long on ground liable to inundation from the Oxus, flowing here in numerous shifting channels with a total width of over a mile.

Even if the exact position of Lien-yün thus remained undetermined, my short stay at Sarhad sufficed to convince me how closely local conditions agreed with the details of Kao Hsien-chih's exploit in crossing the Oxus. The river at the time of the summer flood must, indeed, present a very imposing appearance as it spreads out its waters over the wide valley bottom at Sarhad. But the very separation of the waters makes fording always possible, even at that season, provided the passage takes place in the early morning, when the flood due to the melting snow and ice is temporarily reduced by the effect of the night's frost on the glaciers and snow-beds at the head of the Ab-i-Panja. The account in the Annals distinctly show that the river passage must have been carried out at an early hour of the morning, and thus explains the complete success of an otherwise difficult operation.

I was able to trace the scene of the remaining portion of the Chinese general's exploit when, on May 21, I visited the ruined fortifications reported on the steep spur overlooking the debouchure of the Barōghil stream from the west and known as *Kansir*. After riding across the level plain of sand and marsh, and then along the flat bottom of the Pitkhar defile for a total distance of about three miles, we left our ponies at a point a little to the south of some absolutely impracticable rock-faces which overlook Pitkhar from the west. Then, guided by a few Wakhīs, I climbed to the crest of the western spur, reaching it only after an hour's hard scramble over steep slopes of rock and shingle. There, beyond a stretch of easily sloping ground and about 300 feet higher, rose the old fort of Kansir at the extreme north end of the crest. Between the narrow ridge occupied by the walls and bastions and the continuation of the spur south-westwards a broad dip seemed to offer an easy descent towards the hamlet of Karkat on the Oxus.

It was clearly for the purpose of guarding this approach that the little fort had been erected on this exposed height. On the north and east, where the end of the spur falls away in unscalable cliffs to the main valley of the Oxus and towards the mouth of the Pitkhar defile, some 1,600-1,700 feet below, struc-

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tural defences were needless. But the slope of the ridge facing westwards and the narrow neck to the south had been protected on the crest by a bastioned wall for a distance of about 400 feet. Three bastions facing west and south-west, and one at the extreme southern point, still rose, in fair preservation in parts, to a height of over 30 feet. The connecting wall-curtains had suffered more, through the foundations giving way on the steep incline. Of structures inside the little fort there remained no trace.

Definite archæological evidence as to the antiquity of the little fortification was supplied by the construction of the walls. Outside a core of closely packed rough stones they show throughout a solid brick facing up to 6 feet in thickness with regular thin layers of brushwood separating the courses of large sun-dried bricks. Now this systematic use of brushwood layers is a characteristic peculiarity of ancient Chinese construction in Central Asia, intended to assure greater consistency under climatic conditions of particular dryness in regions where ground and structures alike are liable to constant wind-erosion. My ex-explorations around Lop-nōr and on the ancient Chinese *Limes* of Tun-huang have conclusively proved that it dates from the very commencement of Chinese expansion into Central Asia.* At the same time my explorations in the Tārīm Basin have shown also that the Tibetan invaders of the T'ang period, when building their forts, did not neglect to copy this constructive expedient of their Chinese predecessors and opponents in these regions.† On various grounds which cannot be discussed here in detail it appears to me very probable that the construction of the Kansir walls was due to the Tibetan invaders of Wakhān. But whether the fortification existed already when Kao Hsien-chih carried the Tibetan main position by an attack on its mountain flank, or whether it was erected by the Tibetans when they returned after the retirement of the Chinese some years later, and were, perhaps, anxious to guard against any repetition of this move outflanking a favourite defensive position, I am unable to say.

The victory thus gained by Kao Hsien-chih on the Oxus had been signal, and it was followed up by him with the boldness of a truly great commander. The Imperial Commissioner and certain other high officers feared the risks of a further advance.

* Cf., e.g., *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 387 sqq., 540 sqq. ; ii. pp. 44, 50, etc.

† This was distinctly observed by me in the Tibetan forts at Mīrān and Mazār-tāgh, built and occupied in the 8th century A.D. ; cf. *Serindia*, pp. 457, 1285 sqq.

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So Kao Hsien-chih decided to leave them behind, together with over 3,000 men who were sick or worn out by the previous hardships, and to let them guard Lien-yün. With the rest of his troops he "pushed on, and after three days arrived at Mount *T'an-chü;* from that point downwards there were precipices for over forty *li* (circ. 8 miles)* in a straight line. Kao Hsien-chih surmised: 'If the barbarians of *A-nu-yüeh* 阿耨越 were to come to meet us promptly this would be the proof of their being well-disposed.' Fearing besides that his soldiers would not care to face the descent [from Mount *T'an-chu*], he employed the stratagem of sending twenty horsemen ahead with orders to disguise themselves in dress as if they were barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh, and to meet his troops on the summit of the mountain. When the troops had got up Mount T'an-chü they, in fact, refused to make the descent, saying: 'to what sort of places would the Commissioner-in-Chief have us go?' Before they had finished speaking, the twenty men who had been sent ahead came to meet them with the report: 'The barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh are all well-disposed and eager to welcome you; the destruction of the bridge over the So-yi River 娑夷水 is completed.' Kao Hsien-chih pretended to rejoice, and on his giving the order all the troops effected their descent."

After three more marches the Chinese force was in reality met by 'the barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh' offering their submission. The same day Kao Hsien-chih sent ahead an advance guard of a thousand horsemen, charging its leader to secure the persons of the chiefs of Little P'o-lü through a ruse. This order having been carried out, on the following day Kao Hsien-chih himself occupied A-nu-yüeh and had the five or six dignitaries who were supporting the Tibetans executed. He then hastened to have the bridge broken which spanned the So-yi River at a distance of sixty *li*, or about 12 miles, from A-nu-yüeh. "Scarcely had the bridge been destroyed in the evening when the Tibetans, mounted and on foot, arrived in great numbers, but it was then too late for them to attain their object. The bridge was the length of an arrowshot; it had taken a whole year to construct it. It had been built at the time when the Tibetans, under the pretext of using its route, had by deceit possessed themselves of Little P'o-lü." Thus secured from a Tibetan counter-attack on Yāsīn, Kao Hsien-chih prevailed upon the king of Little P'o-lü to give

* That the *li* as used in Chinese records relating to Central Asia was during T'ang times and before approximately equivalent to one-fifth of a mile is fully proved by evidence discussed by me in *Serindia* (see ii, pp. 734 sq. and elsewhere).

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himself up from his hiding-place and completely pacified the territory.

The personal acquaintance with the ground which I gained in 1906 on my journey up the Yārkhun or Mastūj Valley and across to Sarhad, and again on my move up Yāsīn and across the Darkōt in 1913, has rendered it easy to trace the successive stages here recorded of Kao Hsien-chih's great exploit. All the details furnished by the Chinese record agree accurately with the important route that leads across the depression in the Hindukush range, formed by the adjacent Barōghil and Shawitakh Passes, to the sources of the Mastūj River, and then, surmounting southwards the ice-covered Darkōt Pass (circ. 15,400 feet), descends the valley of Yāsīn to its debouchure on the main river of Gilgit. The only serious natural obstacle on this route, but that a formidable one, is presented by the glacier pass of the Darkōt. I first ascended it on May 17, 1906, from the Mastūj side, under considerable difficulties, and to a description of that visit and the photographic illustrations which accompany it I may here refer for all details. *

Owing to a curious orographic configuration two great ice-streams descend from the northern face of the Darkōt Pass. One, the Darkōt Glacier properly so called, slopes down to the north-west with an easy fall for a distance of nearly eight miles, pushing its snout to the foot of the Rukang spur, where it meets the far steeper Chatiboi Glacier. The other, which on the map is shown quite as long but which reliable information represents as somewhat shorter, descends towards the north-east and ends some miles above the summer grazing ground of Showar-shur on the uppermost Yārkhun river. Thus two divergent routes offer themselves to the traveller who reaches the Darkōt Pass from the south and wishes to proceed to the Oxus.

The one keeping to the Darkōt Glacier, which I followed myself on my visit to the Darkōt Pass, has its continuation in the easy track which crosses the Rukang spur and then the Yārkhun River below it to the open valley known as Barōghil-yailak. Thence it ascends over a very gentle grassy slope to the Barōghil saddle, characteristically called *Dasht-i-Barōghil*, "the plain of Barōghil." From this point it leads down over equally easy ground, past the hamlet of Zartighar, to the Ab-i-Panja opposite

* See *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 52 sqq. In 1913 I crossed the Darkōt from the Yāsīn side towards the close of August, i.e., at the very season when Kao Hsien-chih effected his passage. The difficulties then encountered in the deep snow of the *névé* beds on the top of the pass, on the great and much-crevassed glacier to the north, and on the huge side-moraines along which the descent leads, impressed me as much as before with the greatness of Kao Hsien-chih's alpine feat in taking a military force across the Darkōt.

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Sarhad. The other route, after descending the glacier to the north-east of the Darkōt Pass, passes down the Yārkhun River past the meadows of Showar-shur to the grazing ground of Shawitakh-yailak; thence it reaches the Hindukush watershed by an easy gradient near the lake of Shawitakh or Sarkhin-zhoe. The saddles of Barōghil and Shawitakh are separated only by about two miles of low, gently sloping hills, and at Zartighar both routes join.

The distances to be covered between the Darkōt Pass and Sarhad are practically the same by both these routes, as far as the map and other available information allow me to judge. My original intention in 1906 was to examine personally those portions of both routes which lie over the *névé*-beds and glaciers of the Darkōt. But the uncertain weather conditions prevailing at the time of my ascent and the exceptional difficulties then encountered owing to the early season and the heavy snowfall of that spring, effectively prevented my plan of ascending from the foot of the Rukang spur and descending to Showar-shur. In 1913 I was anxious to complete my examination of the Darkōt by a descent on the latter route. But my intention was unfortunately frustrated by the fact that the passage of the glacier on the Showar-shur side had been blocked for several years past by an impracticable ice-fall which had formed at its end.

Having thus personal experience only of the north-west route I am unable to judge to what extent present conditions justify the report which represents the glacier part of the north-eastern route as somewhat easier. It is, however, a fact that the Pāmīr Boundary Commission of 1895, with its heavy transport of some six hundred ponies, used the latter route both coming from and returning to Gilgit. The numerous losses reported of animals and loads show that here, too, the passage of the much-crevassed glacier and the treacherous snow-covered moraines proved a very serious difficulty for the transport. Nevertheless, inasmuch as for a force coming from the Wakhān side the ascent to the Darkōt Pass from the nearest practicable camping ground would be about 1,300 feet less by the Showar-shur route than by that passing the Rukang spur, I consider it probable that the former was used.

Kao Hsien-chih's biography states that it took the Chinese general three days to reach 'Mount T'an-chü,' i.e., the Darkōt, but does not make it quite clear whether thereby the arrival at the north foot of the range or on its crest is meant. If the latter interpretation is assumed, with the more rapid advance it implies, it is easy to account for the time taken by a reference to the ground; for, although the Shawitakh-Barōghil saddle is crossed without any difficulty in the summer after the snow has melted, no

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military force accompanied by baggage animals could accomplish the march from Sarhad across the Darkōt in less than three days, the total marching distance being about thirty miles. Even a four days' march to the crest, as implied in the first interpretation, would not be too large an allowance, considering the high elevations and the exceptional difficulties offered by the glacier ascent at the end.

The most striking evidence of the identity of "Mount T'an-chü" with the Darkōt is supplied by the description given in the record of "the precipices for over fort *li* in a straight line" which dismayed the Chinese soldiers on looking down from the heights of Mount T'an-chü; for the slope on the southern face of the Darkōt is extremely steep, as I found on my ascent in 1913 and as all previous descriptions have duly emphasized. The track, mostly over moraines and bare rock, with a crossing of a much-crevassed glacier *en route*, descends close on 5,000 feet in a distance of little more than five miles before reaching near a ruined "Darband," or *chiusa*, the nearest practicable camping ground above the small village of Darkōt.

Well could I understand the reluctance shown to further advance by Kao Hsien-chih's cautious 'braves,' as from the top of the pass I looked down on May 17, 1906, through temporary rifts in the brooding vapour, into the seeming abyss of the valley. The effect was still further heightened by the wall of ice-clad mountains rising to over 20,000 feet which showed across the head of the Yāsīn Valley south-eastwards, and by the contrast which the depths before me presented to the broad snowy expanse of the glacier *firn* sloping gently away on the north. Taking into account the close agreement between the Chinese record and the topography of the Darkōt, we need not hesitate to recognize in *T'an-chü* an endeavour to give a phonetic rendering of some earlier form of the name *Darkōt*, as accurate as the imperfections of the Chinese transcriptional devices would permit.

The stratagem by which Kao Hsien-chih met and overcame the reluctance of his troops, which threatened failure when success seemed assured, looks characteristically Chinese. The forethought shown in preparing this ruse is a proof alike of Kao Hsien-chih's judgment of men and of the extreme care with which every step of his great enterprise must have been planned. But such a ruse, to prove effective, must have remained unsuspected. I believe that in planning it full advantage was taken of the peculiar configuration of the Darkōt which provides, as we have seen, a double route of access to the pass. If the party of men sent ahead to play the rôle

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of the 'barbarians of Little P'o-lü' offering their submission, were despatched by the Barōghil and Rukang route, while the troops marched by the Shawitakh—Showar-shur route, all chance of discovery while on the move would be safely guarded against.

As I had often occasion to note in the course of my explorations, Chinese military activity from antiquity down to modern times has always taken advantage of the keen sense of topography widely spread in the race. So Kao Hsien-chih was likely to take full account of the alternative routes. Nor could it have been particularly difficult for him to find suitable actors, in view of the generous admixture of local auxiliaries which the Chinese forces in Central Asia have at all times comprised. *

The remaining stages of Kao Hsien-chih's advance can be traced with equal ease. The three marches which brought him from the southern foot of the pass to 'the town of A-nu-yüeh' obviously correspond to the distance, close on thirty miles, reckoned between the first camping ground below the Darkōt and the large village of Yāsīn. The latter, by its position and the abundance of cultivable ground near by, must always have been the political centre of the Yāsīn valley. Hence it is reasonable to assume that we have in *A-nu-yüeh* a fairly accurate reproduction of the name *Arniya* or *Arniah* by which the Dards of the Gilgit Valley know Yāsīn.

The best confirmation of this identification is furnished by the statement of the Chinese record that the bridge across the River So-yi was situated sixty *li* from A-nu-yüeh. Since the notice of Little P'o-lü contained in the T'ang Annals names the River So-yi as the one on which Yeh-to 護多, the capital of the kingdom, stood, it is clear that the Gilgit River must be meant. Now a reference to the map shows that, in a descent of the valley from Yāsīn, the Gilgit River is reached at a distance of about twelve miles, which exactly agrees with the sixty *li* of the Chinese account. It is evident also that, since the only practicable route towards Gilgit proper and the Indus valley leads along the right, or southern bank, of the Gilgit River, the Tibetan reinforcements hurrying up from that direction could not reach Yāsīn without first crossing the river. This explains the importance attaching to the bridge and the prompt steps taken by the Chinese leader to have it broken. As the Gilgit River is quite unfordable in the

* The T'ang *Annals* specifically mention in the account of Shih-ni, or Shighnān, on the Oxus that its chief in A.D. 747 followed the Imperial troops in their attack on Little P'o-lü and was killed in the fighting; cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 163.

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summer the destruction of the bridge sufficed to assure safe possession of Yāsīn. *

It still remains for us to consider briefly what the biography in the T'ang Annals tells us of Kao Hsien-chih's return from Little P'o-lü. After having secured the king and his consort and pacified the whole territory, he is said to have retired by the route of 'the shrine of the red Buddha' in the eighth (Chinese) month of A.D. 747. In the ninth month (October) he rejoined the troops he had left behind at Lien-yün, i.e., Sarhad, and by the end of the same month regained 'the valley of Po-mi' or the Pāmīrs.

Reference to the maps shows that there are only two direct routes, apart from that over the Darkōt and Barōghil, by which the upper Ab-i-Panja Valley can be gained from Gilgit-Yāsīn. One leads up the extremely difficult gorge of the Karambār or Ashkūman River to its headwaters east of the Yārkhun River sources, and thence by the Khora-bhort Pass over the main Hindukush range and down the Lupsuk valley to the Ab-i-Panja. This it strikes at a point close to Kārvān-balasi, half a march below the debouchure of the Little Pāmīr and two and a half marches above Sarhad. † The other, a longer but distinctly easier route, leads up from Gilgit through the Hunza valley to Guhyāl, whence the Ab-i-Panja headwaters can be gained either via the Kilik and Wakhjīr Passes or by the Chapursan valley. At the head of the latter the Irshad Pass gives access to the Lupsuk valley already mentioned, and down this Kārvān-balasi is gained on the Ab-i-Panja. ‡ All three passes are high, close on or over

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* The biography of Kao Hsien-chih calls this bridge 'pont de rotin' in M. Chavannes' translation, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 153. But there can be no doubt that what is meant is a 'rope bridge' or '*jhula*,' made of twigs twisted into ropes, a mode of construction still regularly used in all the valleys between Kashmir and the Hindukush. Rope bridges of this kind across the Gilgit River near the debouchure of the Yāsīn Valley were the only permanent means of access to the latter from the south until the wire suspension bridge near the present fort of Gūpis was built in recent years.

† Regarding Kārvān-balasi and the route along the Oxus connecting Sarhad with the Little Pāmīr, cf. *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 72 sqq.

‡ The Hunza valley route was followed by me in 1900. For a description of it and of the Kilik and Wakhjīr Passes by which it connects with the Ab-i-Panja valley close to the true glacier source of the Oxus, see my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 29 sqq.

The branch of this route, leading up the Chapursan Valley and across the Irshad Pass, was for the most part seen by me in 1913. The Chapursan valley is open and easy almost throughout and shows evidence of having contained a good deal of cultivation in older times; see my note in *Geographical Journal*, xlviii. p. 109. On this account and in view of the fact that this route is some 18 miles shorter than that over the Wakhjīr and crosses only one watershed, it offers a distinctly more convenient line of access to the Oxus headwaters from Gilgit than the former brarch.

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16,000 feet, but clear of ice and comparatively easy to cross in the summer or early autumn.

Taking into account the distinct statement that Kao Hsien-chih left after the whole 'kingdom' had been pacified, it is difficult to believe that he should not have visited Gilgit, the most important portion of Little P'o-lü. In this case the return through Hunza would have offered manifest advantages, including the passage through a tract comparatively fertile in places and not yet touched by invasion. This assumption receives support also from the long time, one month, indicated between the start on the return march and the arrival at Lien-yün. Whereas the distance from Gilgit to Sarhad via Hunza and the Irshad Pass is now counted at twenty-two marches, that from Gilgit to the same place by the Karambār River and across the Khora-bhort is reckoned at only thirteen. But the latter route is very difficult at all times and quite impracticable for load-carrying men in the summer and early autumn, when the Karambār River completely fills its narrow rock-bound gorge.

The important point is that both routes would have brought Kao Hsien-chih to the same place on the uppermost Ab-i-Panja, near Kārvān-balasi, which must be passed by all wishing to gain Sarhad from the east, whether starting from Hunza, Sarīkol, or the Little Pāmīr. This leads me to believe that the "chapel of the red Buddha" 赤佛堂, already mentioned above as on the route which Kao Hsien-chih's eastern column followed on its advance to Sarhad, must be looked for in this vicinity. Now it is just here that we find the small ruin known as *Kārvān-balasi*, which has all the structural features of a Buddhist shrine though now reverenced as a Mohammedan tomb.* We have here probably another instance of that continuity of local cult which has so often converted places of ancient Buddhist worship in Central Asia and elsewhere into shrines of supposed Mohammedan saints.†

According to the *Annals* the victorious general repaired to the Imperial capital taking with him in triumph the captured king Su-shih-li-chih and his consort. The Emperor pardoned the captive chief and enrolled him in the Imperial guards, i.e., kept him in honourable exile, safely away from his territory. This was turned into a Chinese military district under the designation

* Regarding the ruin of Ḳārvān-balasi, cf. *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 76 sqq.; *Serindia*, i. pp. 70 sqq.

† For references see *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 611, *Serindia*, iii. p. 1546, s.v. "local worship"; also my *Note on Buddhist local worship in Mohammedan Central Asia*, *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, 1910, pp. 839 sqq.

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of *Kuêi-jên* 歸仁, and a garrison of a thousand men established there. The deep impression which Kao Hsien-chih's remarkable expedition must have produced in all neighbouring regions is duly reflected in the closing remarks of the *T'ang shu:* "Then the Fu-lin (Syria) 佛菻, the Ta-shih 大食 (i.e., the Tāzī or Arabs), and seventy-two kingdoms of divers barbarian peoples were all seized with fear and made their submission."

It was the greatness of the natural obstacles overcome on Kao Hsien-chih's victorious march across the inhospitable Pāmīrs and the icy Hindukush which made the fame of this last Central-Asian success of the T'ang arms spread so far. If judged by the physical difficulties encountered and vanquished, the achievement of the able Korean general deserves fully to rank by the side of the great alpine feats of commanders famous in European history. He, for the first, and perhaps the last, time led an organized army right across the Pāmīrs and successfully pierced the great mountain rampart that defends Yāsīn-Gilgit, and with it the Indus valley against, invasion from the north. Respect for the energy and skill of the leader must increase with the recognition of traditional weakness which the *Annals'* ungarnished account reveals in his troops.

Diplomatic documents reproduced from the Imperial archives give us an interesting glimpse of the difficult conditions under which the Chinese garrison placed in Little P'o-lü was maintained for some years after Kao Hsien-chih's great exploit. As I have had occasion to discuss this curious record fully elsewhere it will suffice to note that the small Chinese force was dependent wholly upon supplies obtained from Kashmir*, exactly as the present garrison of Indian Imperial Service troops has been ever since it was placed in Gilgit some thirty years ago. In view of such natural difficulties as even the present Kashmir-Gilgit road, an achievement of modern engineering, has not succeeded in removing, it is not surprising to find that before long resumed Tibetan aggression threatened the Chinese hold not merely upon Gilgit-Yāsīn but upon Chitrāl and distant Tokhāristān, too.

* Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 11 sqq.; for the official documents embodied in the *Ts'é fu yüan kuei* (published A.D. 1013), see Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 214 sq.

In the former place I have pointed out the exact parallel which the difficulties experienced since 1890 about the maintenance of an Indian Imperial garrison in Gilgit present to the conditions indicated by the Chinese record of A.D. 749. The troubles attending the transport of supplies from Kashmīr necessitated the construction of the present Gilgit Road, a difficult piece of engineering.

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A victorious expedition undertaken by Kao Hsien-chih in A.D. 750 to Chitrāl succeeded in averting this danger. * But the fresh triumph of the Chinese arms in these distant regions was destined to be short. Early in the following year Kao Hsien-chih's high-handed intervention in the affairs of Tāshkend, far away to the north, brought about a great rising of the populations beyond the Yaxartes, who received aid from the Arabs. In a great battle fought in July, 751, in the plains near Talas, Kao Hsien-chih was completely defeated by the Arabs and their local allies and in the ensuing *débâcle* barely escaped with a small remnant of his troops. †

This disaster marked the end of all Chinese enterprise beyond the *Imaos*. In Eastern Turkestan Chinese domination succeeded in maintaining itself for some time amidst constant struggles, until by A.D. 791 the last of its administrators and garrisons, completely cut off long before from contact with the Empire, finally succumbed to Tibetan invasion. Close on a thousand years were to pass after Kao Hsien-chih's downfall before Chinese control was established once again over the Tārīm Basin and north of the T'ien-shan under the great Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

* Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 158, 214 sqq., 296.

† Cf. Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 142, note 2. M. Chavannes, p. 297, quotes the closely concordant account of these events from Mohammedan historical records.

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WOU-P'ING-HIEN

武平縣

Note sur l'ancienne Géographie de la Mongolie Orientale,

par Jos. Mullie, Missionnaire de Scheut.

A peine rentré depuis quelques jours d'un voyage qui avait pour but de trouver l'emplacement des ruines de Wou-p'ing-hien 武平縣, je reçois l'ouvrage de Messieurs W. Bang et J. Marquart, "Ost-Türkische Dialektstudien" * où M. De Groot, à la page 114, a essayé de déterminer l'endroit exact de cette ville. Si même d'autres sources, comme le Jee-ho-tcheu, le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu, le Moung-kou-you-mou-ki, le Ta-ts'ing-i-t'oung-tcheu †, etc., avaient été à sa disposition, M. De Groot n'aur tait pu, de Berlin, donner une précision satisfaisante à la détermination de l'emplacement de Wou-p'ing-hien. Ceci me décide à tirer au clair cette question de la Géographie Ancienne des empires Ta Leao, Kin et Yuan. Je regrette infiniment de ne pouvoir plus, ce faisant, payer un tant soit peu ma dette de reconnaissance envers l'eminent professeur de l'Université de Louvain, M. W. Bang, que la mort a arraché trop tôt à ses multiples travaux scientifiques.

La lecture des textes historiques et géographiques qu'on trouve dans les ouvrages chinois, nous donnera tous les éléments dont nous avons besoin pour déterminer la position de Wou-p'ing-hien. Cette ville, comme nombre d'autres, n'a pas toujours porté le même nom, mais il est facile de suivre l'évolution de ses titres.

Les Annales des Leao 遼史, chap. 39, p. 2 v°, disent :

WOU-NAN-TCHEOU 武安州, magistrature Koan-tch'a 觀察; sous les T'ang 唐 c'était le territoire de WO-TCHEOU 沃州; T'ai-tsou 太祖 (des Leao), (907--927), prit des Chinois et les

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* Berlin. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1914. (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philgologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band XIII, Nro. I.)

† 熱河志, 承德府志, 蒙古游牧記, 大清一統志.

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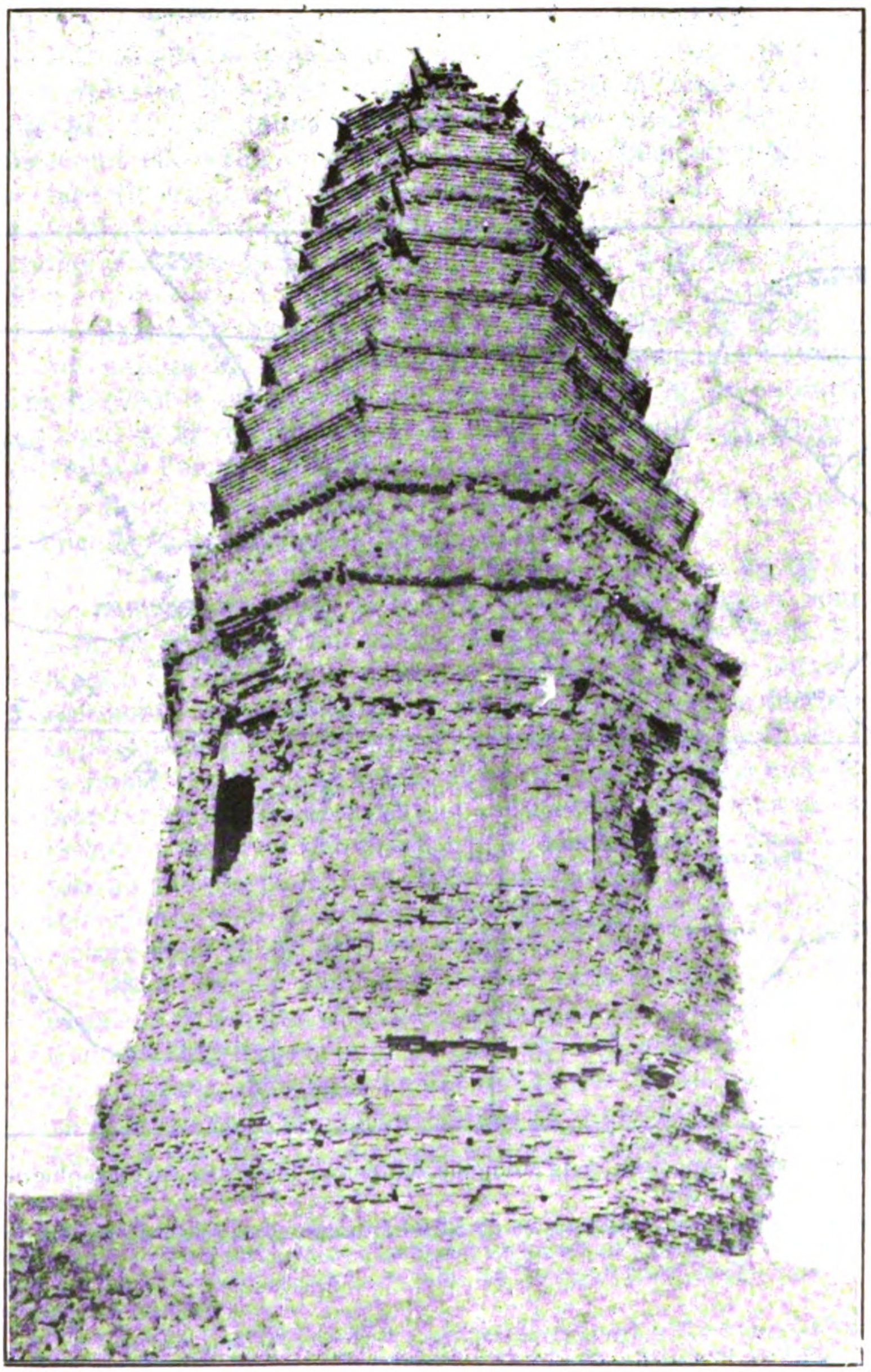

La tour de Pait'aze, Nao-han.

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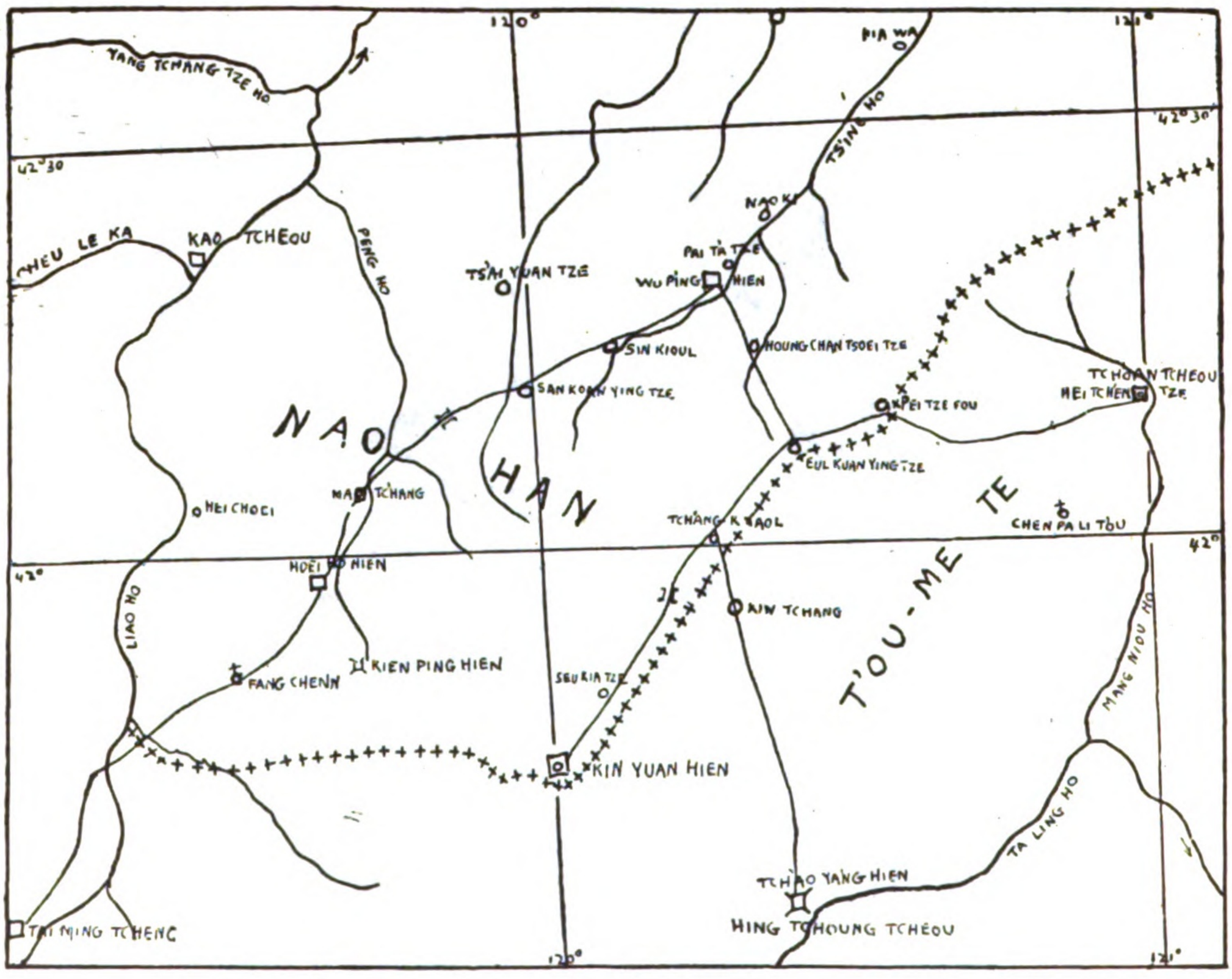

D'après la carte Japonaise de la Mongolie, éditée par le Service cartographique du Japon, la 5e année Ta-tcheng 大正.

La limite du T'oumet occidental et de Nao-han passe plus à l'est de Pei-tze-fou.

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établit au pied de la montagne Mou-ye 木葉山*, et à cet effet il bâtit une ville pour les y transplanter ; il l'appela Hing-kouo Sin-tch'eng 杏堝新城 (la Nouvelle Ville de Hing-kouo). Ensuite il la peupla de familles du Leao-si 遼西 et changea la nom (de la ville) en SIN-TCHEOU 新州. La huitième année t'oung-ho 統和 (990), on donna (à la ville) son nom actuel. Au commencement elle avait (comme magistrat) un Ts'eu-cheu 刺史, plus tard (le magistrat) fut élevé (au rang de Koan-tch'a). il y a (à Wou-nan-tcheou) la montagne Hoang-pai-ling 黃柏嶺, la rivière Yao-louo 約嚧, la rivière Ko-mouo-le 格默勒. (Cette préfecture de second rang) dépend de la Capitale Centrale 中京† et administre une sous-préfecture, WO-YE-HIEN 沃野縣.

Au chapitre 13, p.1 r° il est dit : La huitième année t'oung-ho 統和 (990) le troisième mois, au jour i-you 乙酉, on entoura Hing-kouo 杏堝 d'une muraille et on peupla (la ville) de prisonniers (faits à l'empire chinois des) Soung 宋.

Nous rencontrerons plus loin le nom de Hoang-pai-ling 黃柏嶺 encore usité sous les Yuan.

Quant aux noms des deux rivières Yao-louo 約嚧 et Ko-mouo-le 格默勒 la lecture primitive du premier nom était 果羅, en ancien chinois d'après la méthode de M. B. Karlgren, kiäu-lâ (un *a* grave) ; 約嚧 en ancien chinois représente '*iak-luâ* (et ljâ). Puisque *kiäu-lâ* est la lecture la plus ancienne, il est évident que 約 doit avoir perdu déjà sa finale *k* à l'époque de la correction du nom. Le mot 果 représentant certainement une syllabe du nom k'i-tan de la rivière, n'a pas eu une finale *k*, j'en conclus que le nom k'i-tan n'avait également pas cette même finale *k* ; ceci a son importance pour le nom suivant : 格默勒 dont la première lecture était 簡沒里.

格 en ancien chinois se lit *kək*, mais la figuration plus ancienne 簡 *kâ* a un *k'iu cheng* et indique par ce fait l'absence d'une finale *k* dans le nom k'i-tan ; 默 et 沒 ont tous les deux un *jou-cheng*, mais avec finales différentes, 默 se lisant *mək*, et 沒 *muət;* enfin 里, ancien chinois *lji*, a une finale vocalique que n'a pas 勒 *lək*. Je crois pouvoir conclure de ces faits

* Cette montagne ne peut être celle de même nom qui se trouvait au confluent des rivières Sira-murën (sara murën en mongol vulgaire) et Lao-ho 老河, et où doit être cherchée la ville de Young-tcheou 永州. Tout le contexte le prouve.

† La Capitale Centrale, dont il s'agit ici, se trouvait à Tai-ming-tch'eng 大明城, sur la rive gauche de la rivière Lao-ho 老河. Pour ne pas devoir me répéter, je renvoie le lecteur à mon article, communiqué au *T'oung Pao*, *Les Anciennes Villes de l'empire Ta Leao, au royaume mongol de Bārin*, qui doit être sous presse en ce moment.

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que K'ien-loung n'a pas fait les corrections des mots k'i-tan pour retrouver les consonnes finales. D'ailleurs on sait que les finales -k, -t, -p, avaient déjà disparu dans la langue du nord au XIe siècle. Donc lors de la première translittération de ces noms k'i-tan, les caractères chinois étaient déjà prononces sans leurs anciennes finales -k, -t, -p, et nous avons alors comme forme se rapprochant plus ou moins du nom k'i-tan :

ka (ou *kə*) muə-lji.

Dans ce cas je ne puis resister à la tentation de comparer *muə-lji* avec le mongol *murĕn*, rivière. Rappelons-nous les noms k'i-tan de la Sira-murën : 梟羅簡沒里 ou 女古沒里 donnés dans l'avant-propos du K'i-tan-kouo-tcheu 契丹國志. Le premier mot niao-louo-ko ou niu-kou (ancien chinois niäu-l*â*-k*â* * [à côté de nzjäu-l*â*-k*â*, nz† sont des consonnes mouillées] et nji^{w}o-ku) signifie vraisemblablement "jaune," le nom chinois-traduction du nom indigène-est dès les premiers temps 潢河 *Hoang-ho*, écrit d'une manière un peu différente pour ne pas confondre cette rivière avec le Fleuve Jaune ; le sens en saute aux yeux. Le nom mongol actuel a encore le même sens. Le second mot 沒里 est muə-lji, rivière. Que *muə-lji* soit un mot indépendant, les anciens noms de la rivière Lao-ho :

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* La langue des K'i-tan nous est si peu connue, qu'il n'est pas inutile de rechercher la parenté de ce mot dans d'autres langues : Amyot Dict. Mantchou, annote NIEOUROKO avec le sens de "couleur qui se ternit et tire sur le noir." NIEOUHOUN : "verdâtre" ; NIEOUBORO : "vert obscur." NIEOUROUN : "couleur rouge que l'on voit dans le ciel, lorsqu après la pluie les nuages se trouvant opposès au soleil, il se forme une lueur semblable aux rayons du soleil, qui a la forme d'un demi-cerle. "NIEOUROKO ATALI ; "comme l'arc en ciel. (Il faut lire je crois NIEOUROUN ATALI.")

Le Dictionnaire Coreen-Français, des Missionnaires de Çoree (Yokohama, 1880) mentionne :

NOL : nuage rouge ou jaune 黃 雲.

NO-RANG-I 黃色者 : jaune, qui a les cheveux et les poils jaunes . . . NO-REU-TA, NO-REU-RE, NO-REUN 黃 : jaune-clair. Etre de couleur jaune-clair.

Je rapproche ces mots de NIAU-LA-KA tout en reservant la question d'affinite probable (?).

Le mandchou NIEOUHOUN, verdâtre, doit être compare au mongol : NOGO, le vert, Toungouze NOGON, vert, etc.

On pourrait objecter que le mot k'i-tan MU-LJI, rivière, data peut-être du dernier siècle des T'ang, et qu'alors il faut lire MUəT. C'est une question à élucider ! Notons que -t peut représenter un -r.

En Toungouze on a mû, eau, mûgda, liquide. En Mandchou : mouke : eau (Amyot).

† Z : dorso-alvéolo-prépalatale.

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Mie-li mou-li 乜里沒里 et *T'ao-wei-seu mou-li* 陶猥思沒里 (Voir le K'i-tan-kouo-tcheu, Avant-propos) le prouvent suffisamment.

Le premier texte cité des Annales des Leao se trouve reproduit dans le Tou-cheu-fang-yu-ki-yao 讀史方輿紀要 chap. 18, Tcheu-li 8, p.38 v°. La distance donnée par cet ouvrage : " 200 *li* au Nord-est de Ta-ning-wei 大寧衛 " (le nom de Tai-ming-tch'eng sous les Ming) est sous-évaluée comme nous verrons de suite. Nous trouvons *LOCO CITATO* la description de la contrée sous les T'ang :

"Au commencement (des T'ang), (Wou-nan-tcheou) était le territoire de Tch'ang-tcheou 昌州. A l'époque tsai-tch'ou 載初 (689, 11e lune), Tch'ang-tcheou fut divisé et on érigea Wo-tcheou 沃州 pour y établir les tribus k'i-tan de Soung-mouo 松漠 ; son chef-lieu était Pin-hai-hien 濱海縣, et (le tcheou) se trouvait sous l'administration du Tou-tou 都督 de Ying-tcheou 營州. Plus tard l'administration fut transportée provisoirement à Hoei-tch'eng 迴城 au sud-ouest de Ki-hien 薊縣.

D'après les Annales des T'ang 新唐書, chap. 43, 2°, p.4, v°, le chef k'i-tan Li Tsin-tchoung 李盡忠 fut la cause d'une première fuite la première année wan-soei-t'oung-t'ien 萬歲通天 (693). La seconde année k'ai-yuan 開元 (714) la préfecture fut érigée de nouveau, et ce n'est que plus tard qu'eut lieu le transfert à Hoei-tch'eng.

Les Annales des Kin 金史, chapitre 24, p.6 r°, placent la ville de Wou-p'ing-hien 武平縣 dans la province de la Capitale Septentrionale 北京路 ; or le centre de la province de la Capitale Septentrionale était établi à Ta-ting-fou 大定府, qui n'est autre que la Capitale Centrale des Leao (à Tai-ming-tch'eng). Elles donnent de cette ville la note suivante :

" Wou-p'ing (-hien) 武平. Les Leao bâtirent la ville (qui eut le nom de) Hing-kouo ; d'abord elle s'appela Sin-tcheou 新州 ; pendant l'époque t'oung-ho 統和 (983-1012), (le nom) fut changé en Wou-nan-tcheou 武安州, la troisième année hoang-t'oung 皇統 (1146, sous les Kin) (la ville) fut descendue au rang de sous-préfecture Wou-nan-hien 武安縣 et placée sous l'administration (de Ta-ting-fou). La septième année ta-ting 大定 (1167) elle changea de nom (et devint Wou-p'ing-hien) ; la troisième année tch'eng-nan 承安 (1198) elle fut mise sous la dépendance de Kao-tcheou 高州, mais la quatrième année t'ai-ho 泰和 (1203) elle retourna sous l'administration (de Ta-ting-fou)."

Ici nous suivons facilement les changements des noms de la ville. Nous pouvons aussi conclure de ce texte que Wou-p'ing

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doit toucher aux limites de Kao-tcheou, puisque cette ville reçut pendant six années une supériorité administrative sur Wou-p'ing.

Les Annales des Yuan 元史, chap. 59, p. 2 v°, ne nous donnent que le nom de Wou-p'ing (-hien) 武平 placé sous Ta-ning-lou 大寧路. Le Ta-ning-lou des Yuan est la Capitale Centrale des Leao et la Capitale Septentrionale des Kin. Remarquons que la vingt-cinquième année tcheu-yuan 至元 (1288) le nom de Wou-p'ing-lou 武平路 fut donné à la ville de Ta-ning, qui reprit ce dernier nom plus tard ; l'année n'en est pas indiquée.

Le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu reprend en divers endroits les textes des trois Annales que je viens de citer, et y ajoute des extraits d'autres ouvrages qui se rapportent à Wou-p'ing-hien.

D'après le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu 元一統志 (cité au chap. 20, p. 39 v°) la pagode Fou-yen-seu 福嚴寺 et le sanctuaire Jenn-wang-ko 仁王閣 se trouvaient sur le marché de Wou-p'ing-hien. La pagode Pao-tchenn-koan 寶貞觀 se trouvait au sud-est de la ville.

Mais au chapitre 6, p. 26, il y a un précieux extrait du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu, qu'on trouve également au chapitre 62 du Jee-ho-tcheu, et grâce auquel il est facile de déterminer la position géographique exacte de Wou-p'ing-hien. Afin qu'on ne m'oppose pas un texte du Wou-king-tsoung-yao 武經總要 (voir le Jee-ho-tcheu, chap. 60, p. 13 v°), je dirai que dans la recherche des ruines des anciennes villes on peut en général faire état de la direction indiquée par cet ouvrage, mais nullement des distances données ; le nombre de *li* est d'ordinaire beaucoup trop petit, même si l'on admet comme justification que le *li* de l'auteur est une mesure qui ne correspond pas exactement au *li* du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu.

Ainsi le Wou-king-tsoung-yao dit :

" Sin-tcheou 新州 (le premier nom de Wou-p'ing-hien comme centre administratif) est proprement un territoire de l'état k'i-tan. A l'est jusqu'à Hoēi-tcheou 徽州 il y a 200 *li*, à l'ouest jusqu'à Hoéi-tcheou 惠州 il y a 130 *li*, au sud jusqu'à Pa-tcheou 霸州 (aujourd'hui Tch'ao-yang-hien 朝陽縣) il y a 100 *li*. Au nord jusqu'à Young-tcheou 永州 il y a 370 *li*.

Le texte du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu correspond mieux à la réalité :

Wou-p'ing-hien :

au sud jusqu'à Ta-tou 大都 1,200 *li*.
au nord-ouest jusqu'à Chang-tou 上都 1,000 *li*.
à l'est jusqu'à la limite de Tch'oan-tcheou 川州, la passe Lan-tze-ling 欄子嶺, 70 *li*.

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à l'ouest jusqu'à la limite de Hoei-ho-hien 惠和縣, la passe P'an-tao-ling 盤道嶺 80 *li*.
au sud jusqu'à la limite de Hing-tchoung-tcheou 興中州 Hiâ-k'eou 匣口 50 *li*.
au nord jusqu'à la limite de Moung-kou-hing-ying 蒙古行營 Kouo-soung-tchai 郭松寨 20 *li*.
à l'est jusqu'à Tch'oan-tcheou 川州 150 *li*.
à l'ouest jusqu'à Hoei-ho-hien 惠和縣 150 *li*.
au sud jusqu'à Hing-tchoung-tcheou 興中州 180 *li*.
au nord jusqu'à Lin-hoang-fou 臨潢府 1300 *li*.
au sud-est jusqu'à I-tcheou 義州 300 *li*.
au nord-est jusqu'à I-tcheou 懿州 400 *li*.
au sud-ouest jusqu'à Kin-yuan-hien 金源縣 150 *li*.
au nord-ouest jusqu'à Kao-tcheou 高州 150 *li*.
Examinons les différents points de repère fournis par ce texte.

Ouest.—Il faut chercher à rattacher Wou-p'ing-hien avec la ville de Hoei-ho-hien 惠和縣.

Cette sous-préfecture était sous les Leao le chef-lieu de Hoei-tcheou 惠州 et doit se trouver d'après un texte du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu (voir le Jee-ho-tcheu, chap. 62, p. 5) à 60 *li* à l'est de la rivière T'ou-ho 塗河, limite des sous-préfectures Hoei-ho et Ta-ning 大寧. La rivière T'ou-ho 塗河 est la Lao-ho actuelle, on écrit le plus souvent 土河. (Voir les Annales des Leao, chap. 39, p. 1). Ta-ning-hien est le centre administratif de Ta-ning-lou 大寧路, aujourd'hui Tai-ming-tch'eng sur la rive gauche de la rivière Lao-ho. Les ruines de Hoei-ho-hien se trouvent à 20 *li* au nord-ouest de Kien-p'ing-hien 建平縣 sur la rive gauche de la rivière Pouo-louo-k'o-tch'oan 博羅科川 vulgairement appelée Péng-ho. Le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu admet cette identification. (Voir chap. 21, p. 24 r° et v°). Le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu donne comme distance entre les deux villes 150 *li*, ce qui est exact.

De Hoei-ho-hien à Wou-p'ing-hien la distance est de 150 *li*. La limite des deux sous-préfectures est placée à P'an-tao-ling 盤道嶺 à 80 *li* de Wou-p'ing-hien, donc à 70 *li* de Hoei-ho-hien, mais sous Hoei-ho-hien le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu indique Hoang-pai-ling 黃柏嶺 comme limite des deux sous-préfectures; à 70 *li* à l'est de Hoei-ho-hien. La distance identique pour les deux montagnes, prouve que ces deux noms ou bien s'appliquent à la même passe, ou à deux passes assez rapprochées l'une de l'autre.

Quand on va des ruines de Hoei-ho-hien vers le nord-est en suivant la vallée de la Peng-ho, on passe par le petit marché de Ma-tch'ang 馬場, puis par Kang-kang 岡岡 (du mongol

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ganygga, bord, rive, berge), la route est barrée en ce point par une chaîne montagneuse qu'il faut escalader en zigzag, avant d'arriver dans la vallée où se trouve le village de San-koan-ying-tze 三官營子. Cette passe s'appelle actuellement I-pai-siao-ts'ieul-leang (la Passe des Cent petites Sapèques, * 一百小錢兒梁 et elle mérite bien son ancien nom de P'an-tao-ling, la Passe du Chemin qui serpente par la montagne. Me basant sur cette caractéristique de la passe et sur les distances (70 *li* est de Hoei-ho, et 80 *li* ouest de Wou-p'ing) je crois pouvoir placer là l'ancienne limite des deux sous-préfectures. La direction est plutôt nord-est, et le chemin est loin de suivre une ligne droite, parce qu'un massif montagneux qu'il faut contourner, se trouve entre les deux anciennes villes.

De San-koan-ying-tze la route traverse trois montagnes par P'ing-fang-tze 平房子, Sin-k'iou[1] 新丘 avant de déboucher dans la vallée de rivière Ts'ing-ho 清河. On descend cette vallée, et de très loin on voit la tour qui se trouve près des ruines de Wou-p'ing-hien.

Un village établi là s'appelle Pai-t'a-tze 白塔子, La Tour Blanche. C'est à l'ouest de ce village qu'on voit encore les ruines de l'ancienne ville. Il n'en reste qu'une enceinte presque nivelée, où les nombreux morceaux de briques, de tuiles et de vases divers gisent partout sur le sol. Le mur septentrional a été emporté par les eaux de la rivière Ts'ing-ho, et le lit d'un torrent d'ordinaire à sec, venant du sud-ouest, s'est jeté à travers les ruines coupant ainsi la ville en deux.

L'enceinte peut avoir une longueur de 3 à 400 koung par côté. A l'ouest des murs s'étend un terrain assez vaste jusqu'à Tch'eng-sin-t'ai 城心臺; cet endroit a été habité par une population suburbaine. On voit même une petite enceinte à l'est du village Tch'eng-sin-t'ai ; qui sait si la première ville fut pas établie en cet endroit ?

La rivière Ts'ing-ho, que la carte japonaise appelle Kiao-lien-ho 教連河, doit avoir été soit l'ancienne Yao-louo, soit la Ko-mouo-le ; la contrée n'est pas riche en rivières. Tout le nord est sablonneux et n'a jamais eu de ville préfecturale ou sous-préfecturale, même sous la dynastie Leao qui pourtant en a établies partout. Maintenant encore cette contrée est peu habitée.

Au milieu des ruines à l'ouest du torrent on voit un petit moticule ; est-ce là que se trouvait une des pagodes de Wou-p'ing-hien ?

* Cent petites sapèofues représentent à Tch'ao-yang-hien 16 grandes sapèofues. Or il y a seise têtes de collines â passer pour franchir la passe. De là la nom.

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La tour se dresse au nord-est de la ville et est du même type que les tours si nombreuses en Mc golie Orientale, qui agrémentent les sites des anciennes villes des Leao. Elle est octogonale et chaque face mesure en bas un tchang et demi.

Sud.—Hing-tchoung-tcheou 興中州 des Yuan est à n'en pas douter, la ville actuelle de Tch'ao-yang-hien 朝陽縣.

La route de Pai-t'a-tze (en Nao-han 敖漢) passe par Houng-chan-tsoei-tze 紅山咀子, Eul-koan-ying-tze 二官營子 et la passe Kin-tch'ang-keou-leang 金場溝梁. La distance qu'on donne aujourd'hui est de 230 *li*, il y a une notable différence avec celle indiquée par le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu ; je ne m'explique pas cet écart, y a-t-il erreur du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu ? On trouvera peut-être une passe practicable autrefois, par la longue chaîne qui s'étend à l'ouest de la rivière Ta-ling-ho 大淩河 (vulgairement Ta-lien-ho) et de son affluent la Mang-niou-ho 牤牛河, mais non un chemin plus court qui relie les deux villes. D'autre part on ne peut songer à placer Hing-tchoung-tcheou à un endroit plus rapproché de Pai-t'a-tze.

La limite des deux juridictions se trouvait à Hia-k'eou 匣口 à 50 *li* au sud de Wou-p'ing et à 130 *li* au nord de Hing-tchoung-tcheou. Cet endroit doit être cherché quelque part au sud-ouest de Nao-han Pei-tze-fou 敖漢貝子府.

Sud-Ouest.—Dans cette direction se trouve Kin-yuan-hien 金源縣 à 150 *li*. Distance et direction sont exactes. Je place cette sous-préfecture au village actuel de Niou-sin-ho-t'oung 牛心河通 où le mur d'enceinte est encore partiellement visible. L'identification de Kin-yuan-hien fera tôt ou tard l'objet d'une autre note.

La route passe par Houng-chan-tsoei-tze, Eul-koan-ying-tze, Tch'ang-kao* 長稿 (du mongol Tch'agan gol, Rivière Blanche) et Seu-kia-tze 四家子. On trouve la limite des deux sous-préfectures dans le Jee-ho-tcheu, chapitre 62, page 4 r° : "Au nord (de Kin-yuan-hien) jusqu'à la limite de Wou-p'ing-hien, la passe P'ien-tao-tze-ling 偏道子嶺, 70 *li*," soit donc 80 *li* de Pai-t'a-tze. C'est la passe qui se trouve au sud de Tch'ang-kao[1] et qui s'appelle actuellement Toan-mou-leang 椴木梁, la Passe des Tilleuls.

Est et Nord-Est.—A l'est de Pai-t'a-tze se trouve Hei-tch'eng-tze 黑城子 (la Ville Noire). Le roi mongol du T'oumet occi-

* Le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu (Chap. 18, p.16 r°) écrit 牛脬河屯, c'est la translittération du mongol nuxtsin (mongol littéraire : nitsxuijun) xotho : la Ville Nue. x = la spirante gutturale sourde, ij = la spirante gutturale sonore.

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dental y a son palais, situé dans l'ancienne enceinte murée de Tch'oan-tcheou des Leao 遼川州 (la seconde ville Tch'oan-tcheou, s'entend) sur les bords de la rivière Mang-niou-ho. La distance donnée par le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu est de 150 *li*. De Pai-t'a-tze à Nao-han Pei-tze-fou on compte 70 *li*, de là à Kiou-ho-tch'ang-keou-leang 舊和尙溝梁 30, et depuis ce point jusqu'à Hei-tch'eng-tze par la vallée Eul-loung-t'ai-tch'oan 二龍台川 encore 70, au total 170 *li*, dont les vingt *li* adventices peuvent être mis au compte des routes impraticables, qui devaient être en meilleur état à une époque où les Chinois, ces infatigables destructeurs, n'avaient pas encore mis la cognée aux arbres forestiers.

La limite de Wou-p'ing-hien et de Tch'oan-tcheou se trouvait à la passe Lan-tze-ling 欄子嶺 à 70 *li* à l'est de Wou-p'ing et à 80 à l'ouest de Tch'oan-tcheou. On doit certainement la chercher aux environs de Pei-tze-fou, et probablement dans la chaîne Ta-hei-chan 大黑山 dont le versant oriental envoie ses eaux à la Mang-niou-ho. La distance indiquée ne parle pas en faveur de Kiou-ho-tch'ang-keou-leang, cependant là se trouve la limite actuelle des Bannières mongoles de Nao-han et de T'oumet (occidental), qui a servi à délimiter les sous-préfectures actuelles Tch'ao-yang-hien et Kien-p'ing-hien. Quand l'obscure période de l'histoire de la domination mongole en Mongolie Orientale sera entièrement élucidée, pour autant que faire se pourra, il sera peut-être possible de découvrir le principe qui a guidé les Mandchoux dans le tracé des limites assignées aux diverses principautés mongoles de la Mongolie Orientale. La délimitation pour Nao-han eut lieu la huitième année t'ien-ts'oung 天聰 (1634) *. Puisque nous voyons ça et là les rois et autres chefs mongols établis dans ou tout près des ruines d'une ancienne ville k'i-tan, détruite au commencement des Ming lors de leur raid à travers la Mongolie Orientale, il n'est peut-être pas téméraire de penser qu'en plusieurs endroits les limites des principautés mongoles sont encore celles des sous-prefectures et préfectures de la fin des Yuan. Mais passons.

De Wou-p'ing jusqu'à I-tcheou 義州 il y a 300 *li* d'après le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu. I-tcheou est la ville actuelle de même nom, située sur la rive droite de la Ta-lien-ho dans la Mandchourie. La distance de Pai-t'a-tze doit d'après la carte se rapprocher sensiblement de 300 *li*. Je réserve I-tcheou 懿州 pour plus tard.

Nord.—A vingt *li* au nord de Wou-p'ing se trouvait Kouo-soung-tchai 郭松寨. Or à Nao-ki 敖吉 à vingt *li* au nord-

* Voir le Moung-kou-you-mou-ki, chap. 3, p.2 v°.

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est de Pai-t'a-tze il y a encore une ancienne enceinte que le nom même de Kouo-soung-tchai nous laisse soupçonner. 寨 *tchai* en effet signifie "enceinte, palissade, retranchement."

Au-delà on avait le Moung-kou-hing-ying 蒙古行營, qu'on voit également au nord de Tch'oan-tcheou (100 *li* au nord, au-delà de la passe Hia-ma-ling 蝦蟆嶺), et au nord de Kao-tcheou 高州 (90 *li* au nord à la rivière Ka-tch'a-ho 抏扠河, aujourd'hui Yang-tchang-tze-ho 陽張子河) Kao-tcheou, à 150 *li* au nord-ouest de Wou-p'ing, se trouvai u village de T'ou-tch'eng-tze 土城子 sur la rive gauche de la Lao-ho, où l'ancienne enceinte est encore conservée partiellement. Toute cette contrée septentrionale était habitée par les Mongols vivant sous la tente (époque des Yuan). Nous avons de cela une indication dans le chapitre 128 des Annales des Yuan, p. 9v°, Biographie de T'ouo-k'o-t'ouo-hou 托克拢呼: sa tribu était originairement établie au nord de Wou-p'ing dans la vallée Tcheé-lin-tch'oan 哲琳川 près de la montagne Nan-t'a-ha 安塔哈山.

Voilà une information spécifiquement mongole! On cite la vallée et la montagne, ensuite la ville plus ou moins chinoise (de nom au moins) la plus rapprochée.

Hing-ying 行營 a donc le sens de "camp ambulant" ou "village nomade".

Quant aux autres points de repère nous pouvons nous contenter de quelques mots d'explication :

Ta-tou 大都 la Grande Capitale (des Yuan) est la ville actuel le de Peking.

Chang-tou 上都 des Yuan est la ville détruite qui se trouve à une quarantaine de *li* à l'ouest de La-ma-miao 喇嘛廟 ou Dolon nor.

Lin-hoang-fou 臨潢府 la Capitale Supérieure des Leao, n'existait plus comme centre d'administration sous les Yuan. La distance donnée est beaucoup trop grande. Je place cette ville à Boro xotho au royaume mongol de Bàrin, et non à Pai-t'a-tze (Bàrin nord-ouest) comme certains sinologues ont cru pouvoir faire.

La position géographique de Wou-p'ing-hien étant fixée à Pai-t'a-tze en Nao-han, donc dans le territoire de Jee-ho[1] il serait superflu, n'était l'autorité d'un sinologue de la valeur de M. De Groot, de réfuter la seconde hypothèse qu'il présente.

Ayant trouvé le même nom de montagne "An-ta(p)-han 按荅罕*" dans une contrée située à l'ouest de Chang-tou, M. De Groot hésite entre la région de Chang-tou et celle de Jee-ho[1] pour localiser Wou-p'ing-hien.

* Correction 安塔哈. J'ai écrit n—pour ng-initial, parce qu'on prononce généralement un n—dans le dialecte chinois de la Mongolie Orientale.

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Une lecture de deux ou trois pages dans le Moung-kou-you-mou-ki fournira un nombre d'exemples prouvant qu'en Mongolie il y a tant de montagnes portant le même nom, mais situées dans des contrées différentes, qu'il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner de voir le même fait se produire sous les Yuan.

SAPÈQUES TROUVÉES A PAI-T'A-TZE EN NAO-HAN.

Les sapèques ramassées à Pai-t'a-tze justifient par les nien-hao qu'ils portent notre localisation de Wou-p'ing-hien. Je donne ici ces différents nien-hao :

Hi-ning 熙寧 (Soung-chenn-tsoung) 1068-1078.
Yuan-you 元祐 (Soung. Tchee-tsoung) 1086-1094.
Siang-fou 祥符 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 1008-1017.
Tcheng-ho 政和 (Soung. Hoei-tsoung) 1111-1118.
Tch'oung-ning 崇寧 (Soung. Hoei-tsoung) 1102-1107.
King-te 景德 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 1004-1008.
King-you 景祐 (Soung. Jenn-tsoung) 1034-1038.
K'ai-yuan 開元 (T'ang. Hiuan-tsoung) 713-742.
Kia-t'ai 嘉泰 (Soung. Ning-tsoung) 1201-1205.
Hien-p'ing 咸平 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 998-1000.
Choen-hoa 淳化 (Soung. T'ai-tsoung) 990-995.
T'ai-p'ing 太平 (Leao. Cheng-tsoung) 1021-1031.
T'ien-cheng 天聖 (Soung. Jenn-tsoung) 1023-1032.
Yuan-feng 元豐 (Soung. Chenn-tsoung) 1078-1086.
T'ien-hi 天禧 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 1017-1022.
Ta-ting 大定 (Kin. Cheu-tsoung) 1161-1190.
Tcheng-loung 正隆 (Kin. Fei-ti) 1156-1160.

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THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF CHINKIANG OR A BIT OF "CONSULAR BLUFF"

BY

W. J. CLENNELL, one of H.B.M.'s Consuls in China.

Foreword or Warning.

The sub-title of the following pages is its more appropriate designation.

The author, being at the time stationed at Chinkiang, offered, or was invited,—he does not quite remember which,—to prepare a paper on the History of Chinkiang to be read at a Meeting of the Missionary Association at that port, and had visions of making a profound study of the Tan-t'u Hsien Chih, the Chiao Shan Chih and any other authoritative sources that might be available. But the gods willed otherwise.

There were other duties; there was a transfer to other scenes. The result is not a learned work, but little that could not be extracted from H. A. Giles' Biographical Dictionary, Loch's "Campaign in China," and a most illuminating pamphlet entitled "Christians at Chenchiang Fu" by A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, reprinted from the Toung Pao of December, 1915. To these he is profoundly indebted, and if he has plagiarised unduly he offers his humble apologies.

He has not inserted any Chinese characters; he has not even been consistent in the transliteration of Chinese names. To the learned, therefore, this will not appeal; but there are many who are even more unlearned in the history of Chinkiang than the present writer, and some of them may like to read this essay.

The Historical Setting of Chinkiang.

1. Preliminary of Yangchou (B.C. 200); the Wu kingdom; the. "Silver Island" vase; the wars of Wu and Yüeh; Ho-lü, Fu-ch'ai and Kouchien; the origin of Tan-t'u Hsien.

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2. Han Times (B.C. 200 to A.D. 200).
3. The Sun Dynasty of Wu (A.D. 200 to 280). Sun Ch'uan, the Great Emperor, and others.
4. The Times of the Six Dynasties (A.D. 280 to 624). Chin, Sung, Ch'i, Liang,Ch'ên, Sui. Nanking a capital city; Fuchien of Ts'in; Buddhist piety and art; many revolutions and massacres.
5. The T'ang, Wu and Nan T'ang (A.D. 624 to 974). The Tu T'ien P'usa; the Yang and Hsü dynasties of Wu and Nan T'ang.
6. In the days of the Sung (A.D. 960 to 1275). A cast iron pagoda; culture, communism, incompetence and superstition, let in the Cathayan, the Nüchen and the Mongol. Old topographies.
7. Chinkiang in the days of the Mongol Dominion (A.D. 1275 to 1368). The remarkable story of a hereditary Christian sherbet maker. How Buddhism and nationalism ousted the foreigner.
8. In the days of the Ming (A.D. 1368 to 1644). Ming T'ai Tsu and his successors. Japanese raids. The western foreigner finds his way round by the sea-route. The dreadful tale of the Ming collapse,
9. Chinkiang as a Manchu Garrison town (A.D. 1644 to 1840). Ming partisans and pretenders. The Fukien Chêngs up the Yangtze. The long peace. Manchu triumphs and imperial visits. Faithful widows.
10. The Coming of the Yang Kuei Tzŭ to Chinkiang (from 1840). Capture by the British. T'aip'ing times. Chinkiang becomes a "Treaty Port."

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(1) *Preliminary.*

In the history of the part of China in which Chinkiang is situated the first local name that we meet with is YANGCHOU.

YANGCHOU was one of the nine divisions of the Empire of Yü the Great,—about B.C. 2200—and extended from Wuhsieh,—above Kiukiang,—to the Sea. Some ancient authors make the name cover the whole south of China, which only means that what we mean as south China was an unknown land to those early writers. The ancient ritual, CHOU-LI, describes its trade as consisting in metals, tin and bamboos, and its chief object of cultivation as rice. It had, we are assured, in its population, five men to every two women,—which seems a needlessly generous allowance. But one pictures the Yangchou of primitive Chinese geographers not as a definite locality so much as a vast region stretching vaguely into space beyond the south-eastern horizon of their vision.

From the days of Yü to the date of the alleged foundation of the state of Wu is a blank of a thousand years.

TAN-FU, the renowned Ancient Duke, "Ku Kung," of Chou, made his third son CHI-LI his successor, who was the father of WÊN WANG and so the ancestor of the Chou line of sovereigns of China for many centuries. Being thus displaced from their inheritance, the elder sons, T'AI PO and CHUNG YUNG, retired to the wilderness south of the Yangtze, and, among the tribes of the Ching Man,—"savages of the thorn-bushes,"—they founded a dominion which they called KOU-WU,—generally, and later, known as WU,—with WUHSI or, some say, MEI-LI, near the present CH'ANG-SHU,—some 25 miles north of Soochow,—as its chief town.

Here the two brothers reigned in succession. The tomb of Chung Yung is still shown at Mei-li. When WU Wang,—B.C. 1123—son of Wên Wang, had established himself as the first King of the Chou dynasty, he sought out the descendants of Chung Yung, and confirmed one of them, CHOU CHANG, as feudal ruler of WU.

Then comes darkness again for another four or five hundred years. True, some of the old Chou kings are represented, as making expeditions to the South. In B.C. 1001 the fourth of them, CHAO WANG, closed his long but unworthy reign by such an adventure. He was drowned while crossing a river, said by some to have been the Yangtze, owing to the skipper of his boat having maliciously fastened the planks with glue instead of nails. His successor, MU Wang, who, after a reign of 55 years, died at the age of 104, also travelled to the south, but the localities of his

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many wanderings are terribly vague. More than a century after Mu Wang, the eleventh sovereign of the line, HSÜAN Wang, having after a long interregnum succeeded in B.C. 827 in somewhat restoring the prestige of the throne, is represented as engaged in foreign wars in which his people gladly took part. Two of his many expeditions penetrated the Yangtze regions, one being against the Ching Man, another against the HUAI-I, the "Barbarians of the Huai," who occupied the country where Tsingkiangpu now stands.

This is the period of the invention of the form of ancient writing called the "Greater Seal" character, the few earlier symbols found on ancient bronzes, etc., or the oracle bones from the "waste of Yin," being hieroglyphs whose interpretation serves to occupy, and often to baffle, the wits of archæologists.

Now there is in the monastery of Chiao Shan,—the island in the Yangtze, just below Chinkiang, which foreigners have for no valid reason been in the habit of calling "Silver Island,"—an exceedingly ancient bronze tripod vase. Chinese archæologists attribute this vase to the reign of Hsüan Wang, and even to the year B.C. 812. It bears an inscription of over ninety characters, to all but a few of which a probable interpretation is assigned, and seems to mention a personage named NAN-CHUNG. It is suggested that this Nanchung may be the individual, or, if not the same, a descendant of the individual of that name whose exploits as a leader against the Hsien Yü, or "Huns" of the northern deserts, are celebrated in one of the poems in the Book of Odes. It is true that this Ode is commonly attributed to the times of Wên Wang, or three hundred years before the date of this vase. But we know how prone collectors of ancient ballads and traditions in all countries are to father them on some favourite hero, and it may be that this vase now at Chinkiang is, in truth, a genuine contemporary memento of that "awe-inspiring Grand Master, the Ta-shih Huang-fu Nanchung" of the Odes. If this is so, Chinkiang may boast of a connection with the very beginnings of Chinese poetical literature, as well as of the possession of the very oldest specimen of continuous Chinese writing that has been preserved to our times. But how, when or why a bronze vase of the days of Hsüan Wang was conveyed so far away from the scenes of that monarch's activities I have not seen explained. At any rate it is there, carefully kept in a glass case, as a very great treasure.

The early Chou kings established no lasting dominion in the Yangtze valley, and till B.C. 585 the names and dates of the rulers of Wu, recorded by later writers, are absolutely conjectural.

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The country lay outside the orbit of the little group of northern states wh.ch, in those days, had any claim to be civilized, or of which we possess a continuous history. Just as European history is for many ages the history only of the Mediterranean, and only comes to the Atlantic coast in the last century of the Roman Republic, so, till the time of Confucius or after, Chinese history is merely the story of a few localities in the Huang-Ho valley.

Yet we are not wholly without hints as to what was going on in the Yangtze basin. Higher up a very formidable power, that of CH'U, was being evolved, under chieftains who claimed to be more or less Chinese, but with a people very different from the countrymen of Confucius or Mencius. It was to Ch'u, rather than to the distant kings of Chou, that the Wu people looked for leading. The Wu folk, unlike the orthodox Chinese states, did not use chariots in warfare, neither, like the northern Tartar nomads, did they take to horse riding. But at a very early date they took to the waters, and their piratical fleets of junks sometimes perpetrated raids on their "civilized" northern neighbours, right up into what is now Shantung. Even in those far-off times they were adepts in digging canals through their delta lands. They were, too, addicted to the use of bronze drums as instruments of authority or worship, a practice unknown to the more northerly peoples.

The geography of the region was widely different from what it is now. Vast accretions of new land have formed round the estuary of the Yangtze in the last two or three thousand years, and the river itself, instead of entering the sea by one mouth only, is alleged by some authorities to have branched in those days into two somewhere about Wuhu. The northern branch followed approximately the present course of the river, though, even as late as the third century B.C., it is described as a "hai k'ou," a branch of the sea, almost immediately below the present site of Chinkiang. The southern branch,—if there was a southern branch,—went from Wuhu to the T'ai Hu lake, and there subdivided into two vast rivers. Of these one—rather a tidal bay of the sea than a river,—flowed south into Hangchou Bay; the other, following more or less the line of the Soochow creek, entered the sea about where Shanghai now stands. Thus the country was more distinctly a delta than at present, a delta of vast islands, separated by broad waterways. This delta constituted the WU kingdom.

To the north of the delta lived the HUAI-I barbarians. To the south, across Hangchou Bay, were a branch of the YÜEH

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people, with, it is suggested, TAI or Siamese affinities, possibly the same race as the similarly named Yüeh tribes of Canton. Their chief town was Kuei Chi,—perhaps on the site of the present Shaohsing. As every one of the nine provinces of Yü the Great had to be provided with a Sacred Mountain, we are told that Kuei Chi was the Sacred Mountain of Yangchou.

As they solidified, and as the old Chou monarchy grew decrepit, Wu and Yüeh affected the rank and title of independent kingdoms. They had, no doubt, always been in practice independent, being too distant to be under control, but they had respected, if they did not diplomatically invent, the tradition which represented the Wu chieftains as descendants of a collateral, nay, of an elder branch, of the Chou royal family, and, so long as that family had any real authority anywhere, they had been content with the title of subordinate feudatories. During life they were Hou, "marquises"; after death, like other feudal chiefs, they were allowed the honorary rank of Kung or Dukes.

The first chief to assume kingly rank was SHÊNG, otherwise called SHOU MÊNG (B.C. 586 to 561). Under him the people were trained in the art of war and engaged in a long contest with their up-river neighbour, Ch'u.

A little later, B.C. 537, the Ch'u people raided down the river and captured a place called CHU FANG (the "scarlet square") somewhere in Wu, said to be where KIANGYIN now stands.

(The identification of this place is not clear. Many centuries later CHU FANG is named as one of the six sub-divisions of Chinkiang prefecture, and there are references to a Chu Fang gate. Also, in the famous TSO CHUAN, the contemporary or all but contemporary commentary, attributed to Tso-ch'iu Ming, on the Ch'un Ch'iu ("Spring and Autumn" Chronicle of Lu, compiled by Confucius), there occurs, under the year B.C. 545, the sentence: "Ch'ing Fêng of Ch'i fled to Wu, where Kou Yü gave him the district of Chu Fang.")

These encroachments led to another war in B.C. 528.

So we come to a very famous king of Wu, HO-LÜ, who reigned from B.C. 514 to 496,—the sixth chieftain whose name and date are reasonably authentic. Under him Wu showed itself to be a formidable power. He removed the capital from Mei-Li to KU SU (Old Soochow), where he built a gigantic tower, the Ku Su T'ai. His armies were led by a celebrated exile from Shantung named SUN WU, regarded as one of the two chief authorities in ancient Chinese literature on the military art. This genius wrote a book called Ping Fa ("The Art of War"). King Ho-Lü read it, and asked Sun if his principles could be applied to women. On

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Sun saying that they could, King Ho-Lü lent 180 damsels from the royal harem to try his hand upon. Sun formed them into two companies, choosing a favourite wife of the king as captain of each. At first the ladies burst out laughing when they heard the drums beat for drill, but when Sun caused two of them to be beheaded for want of discipline, they realized the seriousness of the military vocation, and ultimately the corps of amazons was brought to a high state of efficiency.

Aided by several allies, Ho-Lü attacked Ch'u and took its capital city, Ying Ch'êng, the site of which is still to be seen in some ancient earthworks a few miles north of Shashih in Hupei. There one of the allies, who had a grudge against the king of Ch'u for an insult offered to his father, disinterred and whipped the corpse of the father of the king of Ch'u.

This war between Wu and Ch'u gave the kingdom of Yüeh, which we have mentioned as being south of the delta country, an opportunity to attack Wu in the rear. In this new war King Ho-Lü was defeated in a battle near Soochow and died of a wound there received (B.C. 496).

He was succeeded by his son, King FU-CH'AI, who, after several failures, vanquished KOU-CHIEN, King of Yüeh. Instead of following the advice of his ministers, who told him to annex the whole Yüeh country, Fu-ch'ai granted a peace which allowed Kou-chien to retain a portion of his dominions.

Later, Fu-ch'ai grew negligent and gave way to debauchery, while his rival Kou-chien of Yüeh, retreating with five thousand survivors of his defeated army, drank daily from a vessel filled with gall and slept nightly on an uncomfortable faggot of firewood, to remind himself of the bitterness of his disgrace, till the day should dawn for revenge.

Fu-ch'ai was offended at the boldness of his father's old general Sun Wu, who reproved him for his naughty, careless ways, till Fu-ch'ai commanded the old warrior to commit suicide. His body was sewn in a sack and thrown into a river. Later ages deified him as a god of the waters, and built temples to his memory, and related how, in his dying prayer, he had expressed a hope that the avenging armies of Yüeh should bear his funeral car, drawn by white horses, to behold the downfall of the proud kingdom of Wu. And ever since that day the tumbling waters of the rising tide have roared and rushed up the bay of Hangchou, silencing the stream of the Ch'ien T'ang in the frothing white-horse billows of a racing sea.

King Kou-chien, meanwhile, sent to Ch'u, to obtain a "magic sword" made of iron. Though it would seem that iron had been

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in use in China for domestic and agricultural implements for at least two hundred years before this period,—for it is mentioned as so used by Kuan-tzŭ, the philosophic mentor of Duke Huan of Ch'i (7th century B.C.)—it had not hitherto been tempered into steel and turned into sharpened weapons. But now there had arisen in Ch'u a wizard, or expert, named Fêng Hu-tzŭ (the "Mad Tiger") who could treat iron in such a way that the "magic" swords he made were sharper than the bronze swords till then reckoned the last word in warfare, and this new art he imparted to King Kou-chien.

It is interesting to note, in the account given of Fêng Hu-tzŭ, that this worthy seems to have anticipated quite modern notions as to the cultural progress of mankind. For he taught that in the days of the patriarchs all weapons had been of rude stone, then that there had been an age of polished stone or jade weapons, and lastly, since the Shang dynasty,—say B.C. 1760,—copper and bronze had been in use, till his own times and the dawn of the use of iron.

In B.C. 473,—provided, we suppose, with these magic swords of steel,—Kou-chien deemed that his hour had come, attacked and defeated Fu-ch'ai, and, refusing his prayer to be allowed to retain a fragment of his old domain, drove him to despair and suicide. The Wu kingdom was extinguished and, for a while, Kou-chien of Yüeh figured as the greatest of the war-lords of China.

But ere long the whole Yangtze valley fell under the overlordship of Ch'u, and so remained for two hundred and fifty years. In these centuries of subjection Wu seems to have fallen into sad decay, but in B.C. 248 one Huang Hsieh, prime minister of Ch'u, being sent to govern the region, restored its capital city, and so is reckoned the second founder of Soochow. To enhance the splendour of the city he had the Huang-pu river, or perhaps we should say the Soochow Creek, widened and enlarged. He was anxious that the king of Ch'u, who was childless, should have an heir, so, after providing him in vain with several concubines, he palmed off upon him the daughter of one Li Yüan, who was already with child. To her a boy was born, who was made heir apparent, and in due course succeeded to the throne, whereupon this Li Yüan had Huang Hsieh murdered, as too well acquainted with the new king's real parentage.

The history of the great and warlike kingdom of Ch'u does not concern us here, and notices of its dependant province of Wu, or the lower Yangtze, are very few. In spite of the little flash of limelight that it had enjoyed in the days of Ho-Lü and Fu-Ch'ai, it was plainly still outside the usual range of vision of Chinese civilization.

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In the very year in which Soochow was restored there had come to the throne of the kingdom of Ts'in, away in the far north-west, one who in the next thirty years was destined to sweep away, one after another, all the old Chinese feudal states and erect on their ruins a new Empire,—the great Shih Huang-ti.

During the reign of this "First Emperor" we come upon the name, TAN T'U, of the Hsien district in which Chinkiang stands. This name has no meaning in Chinese, but is said to have signified, in the old language of Wu, "Red Coats." It arose from the fact that this district was used by Ts'in Shih Huang-ti as a penal settlement, or dumping ground, for convicts, who, clothed in red garments, were sent to the place, some six miles below the modern Chinkiang, which is still known as TAN T'U CHÊN. But the rest of the region was an almost uninhabited wilderness, of so little account that Tan-t'u figures in those days as a Hsien dependent on Kuei-chi, that is on Shaohsing, half-way between Hangchou and Ningpo.

(2) *HAN Times.*

The great HAN Dynasty, that succeeded (B.C. 202) on the collapse of the Ts'in power, lumped all the lands from the Yangtze estuary southward to Fukien in one great province, to which the name of Yangchou was given,—suggesting either that the Han statesmen reverted to the oldest traditional arrangements of patriarchal times, or that the geography attributed to patriarchal times is a fabrication of the Han era.

There is little to say about Chinkiang or its neighbourhood for a long time. But to the Han period belong a large bronze "war drum" kept in the Chiao Shan monastery, and a second tripod vase, also kept there, along with the far more ancient "Chou Ting" of Hsüan Wang's days that I have already alluded to. Like that treasured relic, the Han vase bears an inscription.

The Han Imperial family, descendants of Liu Pang, were of course a Kiangsu family, but their native place, P'ei Hsien, is far away in the north of the province, and so much more within the range of ancient China than the country with which we are chiefly concerned.

In B.C. 177 two brothers of the then Emperor, Han Wên-ti, raised a revolt. One of them was a "Prince of Huai-nan," with fief between the Huai and the Lower Yangtze. In B.C. 148 a prince of Wu leagued with six other local chieftains to restore something like those feudal privileges which the great Ts'in conqueror had battered down, and persuaded the Emperor, Han

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Ching-ti, to put to death a famous scholar named Ch'ao Tso, who had shown himself a strong opponent of feudal pretensions. Then the seven confederates tried to depose the Emperor, but were defeated somewhere near Hsüchou, in the north of Kiangsu.

Ten years later, B.C. 138, in the reign of the great conqueror of the Hsiung-Nu (Huns), Han Wu-ti, the population of Tung Ou (south of modern Chekiang), being attacked by the tribes of the Min Yüeh (Fukien), appealed to the Emperor for aid, and were transplanted into the country between the Yangtze and the mouth of the Huai,—in fact into the old domain of the Huai-I barbarians. This is, I think, the very first reference to Fukien in real history.

In those days there lived Liu An, a scion of the Imperial family, commonly known as HUAI NAN TZŬ,—the Philosopher from south of the Huai. He is famous as the author of a book of essays, and in the history of Taoist magic as a writer on alchemy and the elixir of life. Han Wu-ti held him in high esteem and excused him from the duties of vassalage, but he got mixed in some treason or other and a commission was sent to punish him. Ere the commissioners arrived he had, however, some say, perished by his own hand, but others declare that he swallowed a draught of his elixir and rose to heaven in broad daylight. As he rose he dropped the vessel containing the precious fluid, and the dogs and poultry in the courtyard sipped the dregs and rose with him to the skies.

About A.D. 8 the Han Dynasty was temporarily overthrown by the usurper Wang Mang, who called his power the Hsin (new) dynasty, and proposed by an equal division of all property to abolish poverty from the world and make all things new. But his reforms, we read, were only partially carried out, and in A.D. 25 the Han line was restored under Liu Hsiu (Emperor Han Kuang-wu Ti), and ruled, in name if not always in fact, for another two hundred years. Not indeed with its old glory, for the record is largely a long succession of usurpations by dowager empresses and their relatives, their mutual struggles and the trouble they had with eunuchs and ambitious local chiefs.

In A.D. 76 Sung Chün, governor of Kiukiang, was so virtuous that the tigers which had till then infested that region all crossed the Yangtze to get out of his way, and locusts no sooner approached his borders than they scattered and disappeared. Before his appointment to Kiukiang, he had served at Tung Hai,—modern Haichou, up the Kiangsu coast,—where the people were so impressed with his virtues that they petitioned for his return.

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It was during these later Han times that the worthy Chiao Kung lived, whose name is perpetuated in Chiao Shan, where the two ancient tripod vases and the Han war-drum are kept.

Towards the end of the Han era there lived a sorceress Ma Ku, who, with her brother, the astrologer Wang Yüan, by their magic art reclaimed a large area of the Kiangsu coast from the sea and planted it with mulberry orchards. This lady had claws like a bird and lived to the age of 120. Her enterprise reads like an intelligent anticipation of the present-day undertakings of H.E. Chang Ch'ien of Nantungchou.

As the Han Empire fell into decay power passed into the hands of the great "Dictator" Ts'ao Ts'ao. Though he personally refrained from declaring himself Emperor, he was no sooner dead than his son, Ts'ao Pei, did so, founding the WEI dynasty in the north (A.D. 220).

But large portions of China refused to submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao's usurpation, and the net result of the troubles of the last thirty years of the Han was the emergence of the famous "Three Kingdoms" of Chinese drama and romance, each of which Kingdoms claimed that its sovereign was the genuine Son of Heaven.

On the Upper Yangtze LIU PEI, of a collateral branch of the Han Imperial house, favoured by a remarkable galaxy of warriors and statesmen of talent, founded the Empire of Shu, or Shu-Han, with Chingchou in Hupei and Ch'êngtu in Ssŭch'uan as its chief cities.

On the Lower Yangtze our old friend the state, or kingdom, or Empire, of Wu came to life again under a dynasty of the surname of SUN.

(3) *The SUN Dynasty of WU.*

The founder of this family was Sun Chien, said to have been a native of Fuch'un in Chekiang, who won for himself an official position through an affray with pirates on the Ch'ient'ang River. The Yellow Turban rebellion, A.D. 184, gave him a chance to distinguish himself, and in 190 we find him governor of Ch'angsha, allied with Ts'ao Ts'ao, and one of a band who tried to deliver the Emperor from the tyrannous domination of Tung Cho. But the confederates were defeated and none but Sun Chien dared to renew the attack. In 191 Sun Chien defeated Tung Cho at Loyang, Honan, but the various opponents of Tung Cho fell out among themselves and Sun Chien was killed in a battle at Chingchou, Hupei.

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The whole country then fell into an utter anarchy in which it is hard to track the windings of the intrigues in which all the leaders indulged.

A few years later, Sun Chien's son, SUN TSÊ, collecting the remnants of his father's forces, crossed the Yangtze at Ch'ü-a, near T'aip'ing Fu, just above Nanking, and conquered a wide region down to the mouth of the river, to which region he gave the name of Chiang Tung. The great Ts'ao Ts'ao deemed it politic to recognize him, and in 199 gave him the title of Marquis of Wu. But in 200 he was assassinated, and his brother SUN CH'UAN, who succeeded to his power, promptly threw off allegiance to the Dictator.

Sun Ch'uan remained ruler, under one title or another, of the Lower Yangtze region for fifty-three years, and it is to him that Chinkiang (Chên Chiang—Guard of the Kiang), owes its existence as a city. It was hither that he came to court the beautiful P'AN Fu-jên. Sun Ch'uan had condemned her father to death, and consequently she shut herself up in the palace, which is said to have stood on the little hill called Pei Ku Shan between the Kan-lu Ssŭ headland and the present walls of Chinkiang city. Hearing of her beauty Sun Ch'uan gave orders that her portrait should be submitted to him. To escape his advances she starved herself, in the hope of spoiling her good looks. But when Sun Ch'uan saw the portrait he struck the table with his amber "Ju-i" and cried out, "She is indeed a goddess," and nothing would satisfy him till he had made her his wife.

In 208 Sun Ch'uan allied himself with the great Chu-ko Liang, known as K'ung Ming, the statesman-engineer whose genius in canal-making made the fertility of the Ch'êngtu Plain, and whose skill as a diplomat brought Yünnan into the sphere of influence of his sovereign, the Emperor of Shu-Han. Between them they inflicted a big defeat on Ts'ao Ts'ao at a place called Ch'ih-pi,—the "Red Wall" (somewhere on the Yangtze, some say at Wuch'ang, others say at Kiukiang), where Ts'ao Ts'ao's fleet and camp were burnt.

This victory practically divided China into three independent states, and enabled Sun Ch'uan to establish his capital at Moling, known in Han times as Tanyang, but to which he gave the name of Chien Yeh,—a name by which NANKING continued to be known for several centuries.

In 215 Sun Ch'uan suffered a defeat at the hands of Ts'ao Ts'ao, at Ho-fei in Anhui,—the place famous in our times as the native home of Li Hung-chang,—and was forced to sue for peace.

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Though Chien Yeh (Nanking) was Sun Ch'uan's chief city, Chinkiang, where he had wooed his bride, owes its oldest existing monuments to him. The foundations of the fortifications that he built round his "Fu-chih" (Governor's residence) may still be traced in the line of crumbling masonry that caps the ridge of heights connecting the existing city wall northward past Pei-ku Shan to Kan-lu Ssŭ. Also, inside the present city, stands a high solitary gateway, with a building on it known as the Old Drum Tower. The masonry foundations of this gate are also alleged to date from the time of Sun Ch'uan. Some graves outside the north gate are said, too, to be those of some members of his line, if they do not include his own sepulchre.

The original wall, "tzŭ ch'êng," round Sun Ch'uan's "Fu Chih" at Chinkiang, was, we are told, a square 630 paces in circuit, and it was 31 feet in height. The earth vallum was faced with brick, a device so unusual in those days as to gain for it the name of "T'ieh Wêng Ch'êng,"—the "iron pot" wall. It had four gates, but the description that has come down to us, dating as it does from long after the times of Sun Ch'uan, may not be a final authority as to his constructions (see "Christians at Chên-chiang Fu," by A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, published in the "T'oung-pao," December, 1915).

In 218 there was war between Sun Ch'uan of Wu and his western neighbour Liu Pei of Shu. The Wu army was led by CHOU YÜ, a very famous general of these Three Kingdom wars. An attempt was made to annex all the Upper Yangtze country while KUAN YÜ, the Shu general, was away fighting Ts'ao Ts'ao in the north, but Chou Yü died before it was accomplished. His successor, Lü Mêng, however, captured Chingchou. Kuan Yü, whose fame led in later ages to his deification as "Kuan Ti," the Chinese War God, hurried from the north to the defence of this important city, but fell into an ambush and was taken prisoner. Sun Ch'uan had him put to death. Thus the founder of Chinkiang has the distinction of slaying the God of War (A.D. 219).

On Ts'ao Ts'ao's death (220) his son Ts'ao Pei not only extinguished the long since nominal Han dynasty, setting up that of Wei, but, on Liu Pei of Shu showing a desire to avenge the death of Kuan Yü, he allied himself with Sun Ch'uan, to whom he granted the title of King of Wu.

A few years later Sun Ch'uan followed the precedent set by his northern neighbour and proclaimed himself an "Emperor" too, having meanwhile utterly defeated Liu Pei near Ichang, whereby the Shu kingdom was for a time driven right back into Ssŭch'uan. But it was not long before Wu and the Wei Empire

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fell out, on account of the latter demanding tribute and hostages, and Wu formed an alliance with its old enemy Shu-Han.

Under Sun Ch'uan there lived a painter named Tsao Fu-hsiang of such skill that, having made a blot on a picture, he turned it into so lifelike a fly that Sun Ch'uan tried to flick it away. He also painted a red dragon, and, on the painting being thrown into the River, it had the effect of causing rain to fall and putting an end to a serious drought.

The later years of Sun Ch'uan's reign were peaceful. The Shu kingdom was busy in other directions; in Wei the power of the Ts'ao family was being undermined by a series of chieftains of the surname of Ssŭ-ma, who eventually overthrew it and set up another dynasty, the Chin. With neither did Sun Ch'uan interfere. His armies guarded the line of the Huai, but of active hostilities we hear nothing.

In 252 Sun Ch'uan, now well past his seventieth year, was told by an angel from Heaven to adopt the term Shên Fêng (Divine Phœnix) as the Nien-hao, or "year title," of his reign. Soon afterwards he ascended as a Phœnix to heaven, in the 53rd year of his rule as Marquis, the 32nd as King, the 24th as Emperor of Wu. He was "canonised" under the temple name of Ta Ti, and so is known to history as Wu Ta-ti, the "Great Emperor" of Wu.

His previous year-titles had been:

A.D. 220, Huang Ch'u, the Yellow Beginning.
229, Huang Lung, the Yellow Dragon.
232, Chia Ho, the Excellent Crop.

(*Note:* The same characters as those used for the modern Republican decoration.)

238, Ch'ih Wu, the Red Crow.
251, Ta Yüan, the Great Origin.

Sun Ch'uan was succeeded by his youngest son, Sun Liang, who reigned six years, and is known as Fei Ti, the Deposed Emperor. Ten years previously an elder brother, Sun Ho, had been named heir, but lost favour through some palace intrigue and was sent to Ch'angsha with the title of Prince of Nanyang. On their father's death Sun Liang sent one Sun Hsün to Changsha to steal his brother's seal and ribbon of office, and force him to suicide. For the time the unrighteous plot succeeded and Sun Liang obtained the throne.

Sun Liang appointed one Sun Ch'ên Commander-in-Chief, but suspecting him of treason, determined to put him to death.

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Sun Ch'ên got wind of the plot, seized the Emperor (258) and relegated him to Kuei-chi (Shaohsing) as Marquis of that place, and there he died in 260, while a brother, Sun Hsiu, mounted the throne. Of this Sun Hsiu it is related that, shortly before his accession, he dreamt of a dragon so large that he could not see the end of its tail. He was something of a scholar, and also fond of pheasant shooting. At first he employed Sun Ch'ên as his chief adviser, but soon came to suspect him and put him to death.

Just then the armies of the northern Empire of Wei, using the great highway that the genius of Chu-ko Liang had engineered across the mountains of southern Shensi, swept down into Ssŭch'uan and overthrew the Shu-Han power. But hardly had this been done when a long-pending revolution in Wei overthrew the Ts'ao family there and set up the Ssŭ-ma, or Chin, Dynasty on the throne. The combined result of these two events was to unite the whole of China, except Wu, into one dominion again.

In 264 Sun Hsiu died, succeeded by Sun Hao, son of that Sun Ho who had been banished twenty-two years before to Ch'ang-sha. He is known as Mo Ti, the "Last Emperor" of Wu. In his youth he had been studious and exemplary in his habits, but as a ruler gave way to cruelty and vice and neglected affairs of state, so that, although Wu remained for sixteen years longer independent, it was in no position to resist the new Chin Empire that was endeavouring to reunite all China under its sway.

The forces of the two powers remained camped, however, for years along the frontier, sometimes fraternising and making presents to one another. But the tyranny and oppression of the Wu ruler made him unpopular (he used to make people drunk over night and then put them to death with horrible tortures next morning for the mischief they had done), and in 279 Ssŭ-ma Yen, the Chin Emperor, determined to overthrow him. Two expeditions proceeded to the Lower Yangtze overland, and one in boats down the Han, to converge on Nanking. In most places the Wu troops surrendered and, where they did not, they were defeated. Nanking was taken. The Emperor Wu Mo Ti was sent to Loyang, where he died a prisoner in 283. His concubines, of whom there were five thousand, entered the harem of the conqueror.

It is in connection with this last Emperor of Wu that we meet, perhaps, the earliest reference to the use of tea as a drink, for he is said to have offered tea, in place of the usual wine, to Wei Chao, the ambassador from the northern power.

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(4) *The Times of the Six Dynasties.*

Thus Ssŭ-ma Yen, known in history as Emperor Chin Wu Ti, united the whole of China under himself, with almost the same area as had obeyed the old sovereigns of Han. But the times were out of joint, and the rule he established was but weak and ephemeral. For a century past large colonies of Hsiung Nu, Hsien Pi, or other Turkic, Tartar or Tungusic nomads, had been planting themselves all over the northern provinces, and their chiefs were often employed to command Chinese armies. Add to this that the Emperor had at least twenty-five sons, a good many of whom had such ambitions that the years following 290 were disturbed by what is called the Civil War of the Eight Brothers, and it is not surprising to learn that by the year 300 the fleeting unity of the new Empire had once more become a memory or a dream.

In the extremely complex struggles that ensued the north of China became a mosaic of shifting kaleidoscopic sub-divisions, while the seat of Empire had to be moved, in 318, to Nanking.

Thus, though Wu had lost its independence forty years before, it now became the real centre of China, and so remained for the next two centuries. It is interesting to note that, just at the moment when the Chin power shifted to Nanking, there was founded at Chinkiang the Kinshan (Chin Shan), or Golden Island Monastery (317).

The story told as to the removal of the capital to Nanking is as follows. One Niu Ch'in, a military official, had excited the mistrust of Ssŭ-ma Yen on account of a prophesy in which horses (ma) and oxen (niu) were mysteriously connected with the succession to the throne. Ssŭ-ma Yen had Niu poisoned, not knowing that another member of the Niu family had committed adultery with the wife of one of the many Ssŭ-ma princes. The child born of this intrigue was named Niu Jui, but he usurped the imperial surname of Ssŭ-ma. In 307 he was made governor of Yangchou,—Yangchou meaning, as of yore, a very wide region,—with his capital at Nanking. In 313 he rose to be prime minister of the Empire, but refused to serve against the so-called Han rebels, and when the latter captured Ch'ang-an (modern Hsian, which was then, as so often before and since, the Imperial Capital) he forced the sovereign to make him regent (317). In 318 he made himself emperor at Nanking, and there his descendants, known as the Eastern Chin dynasty, reigned for just over a hundred years, till 420.

But all the North was lost. Kingdoms styled Han, under a Liu family, Chao, under a chief named Shih-lo, Ts'in, under a

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dynasty of the surname Fu, Yen, under the Moyung line, in what is now Peking, and other kings of Ch'êngtu, etc., etc., when they were not fighting one another, raided the country right down to the Huai and the Yangtze. In fact the old feudal states of Chou times, many of them in the same areas and with the same names, had come back to life after an eclipse of five hundred years, with just this difference that, whereas the old states had been ruled by noble families that claimed descent from the Chou royal line, even when their people were mainly Tartar, the new states, even when their people were purely or mostly Chinese, were nearly all ruled by chiefs of nomad blood and speech.

In 324 Wang Tun, a general in command at Wuch'ang, caused much alarm by marching on and besieging Nanking, and, though he was persuaded to withdraw, the emperor died of fright. In 327 another general, Su Chün, rebelled in Anhui, crossed the Yangtze, took Nanking and defeated the imperial forces in many battles, but was finally driven off, captured and beheaded.

Nevertheless, though attacked from abroad and distracted by attempted revolutions within, the Eastern Chin empire fairly held its own for many years. In 352 its general, Yin Hao, stationed at Chiang-tu (Yangchou ; not the wide region, but the town still known as Yangchou Fu or Chiang-tu Hsien) made a campaign to the north, but with little success. Another general, Huan Wên, had better luck, up the Yangtze in 347, almost to the gates of Ch'ang-an in 354, and in 356 he had "recovered" most of what is now Honan.

Fu Chien the first, king of Ts'in, the greatest of the northern states, died in 355, followed next year by his son. Then came a cousin, King Fu Chien the second (the character is not the same as that used for his uncle's name, but, as the sound is the same, we adopt, for convenience' sake, the western habit of calling them Fu Chien the first and Fu Chien the second). A wise and earnest sovereign, he had succeeded to the name and to the hereditary territories of Shih Huang-ti's line ; might he not aspire to repeat Shih Huang-ti's exploits ? He set himself the hard task of establishing a strong and orderly kingdom, and, having in many wars made himself formidable in the north, he turned his attention southwards. In 378 Fu Chien advanced through Honan almost to Nanking, but was driven back to north of the Huai.

In 383 the attack was renewed. Disregarding the advice of his best generals Fu Chien led southward a vast host of 600,000 men, but at a place called Fei Shui (somewhere in Anhui) he was defeated by Hsieh Shih and Hsieh Hsüan, the two sons of an old

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statesman named Hsieh An, and, of all that multitude only some thirty or forty thousand, led by Moyung Ch'iu the Prince of Yen, escaped to tell of the disaster.

It is related of this campaign that a Ts'in general, Fu Yung, had warned King Fu Chien that the broad Yangtze, with its swift current, would be a formidable obstacle to cross. But Fu Chien replied that such a host as his could dam the stream by merely throwing their riding-whips into it, and arrogantly went forward to his overthrow. Then, in the disastrous retreat, after this leader Fu Yung had been slain, the beaten soldiers of Ts'in, harassed by perpetual alarms, had imagined the whistling of the wind and the screaming of cranes overhead to be the shouts of their pursuers.

Old Hsieh An was sitting quietly over a game of chess when a despatch with the news of the victory was brought to him. On being asked what news had come he replied quietly that it was "only that my boys have beaten the enemy." But, when he had retired to his private apartments, he gave himself up to a transport of joy.

The battle of Fei Shui led to a reshuffle of the northern powers, and, eventually, to their incorporation in the monarchy of the Northern Wei (Pei Wei) dynasty, under the Turkish house of Toba, but it did not bring about the restoration of the unity of China.

About 400 one Sun Ên, descended from the old Sun Emperors of Wu, with his uncle Sun Tai, reputed to be a magician, planned a revolution. Their followers were dubbed "immortals" but, after a long and varied struggle, Sun Ên found himself without resources and drowned himself in the sea.

In 403 Huan Hsüan, son of the general Huan Wên above mentioned, rebelled, captured Nanking and proclaimed himself Emperor of Ch'u, but was overthrown next year. Chinkiang is mentioned in this affair, under the name of Ching K'ou—"Gateway of the capital" (a name still sometimes in use)—as the place where the Imperial forces gathered, under Liu Yü, who claimed to be a descendant of the old Han Emperors, to march against the usurper.

In the following years Liu Yü came to completely dominate the Empire. In 419 he murdered Ssŭ-ma Tê (Emperor Chin An Ti) and set up a temporary puppet in his place, till the appearance of a comet was held to be a sufficiently revolutionary omen to justify him (420) in dethroning the Chin dynasty and in becoming himself the first sovereign of a new,—the Liu Sung,—line.

Some time during the Chin (Ssŭ-ma) dynasty the walls of Chinkiang were altered and enlarged by one Wang Kung, but I have not traced the exact date.

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The descendants of Liu Yü reigned in Nanking till 479. In 430 their general T'an Tao-chi won over thirty battles against the Pei Wei power, the last being at Chinanfu, Shantung, but had to come back for want of provisions and convoy. In 435 he was, through jealousy, arrested on a forged warrant and thrown into prison with several of his sons and adherents. He flung his cap on the ground exclaiming "Would you destroy your Great Wall?" And when he and all his sons were executed the men of Pei Wei exulted, saying "The Great Wall of Sung has fallen!"

In 452 peace was made. The emperor Liu Chün (Sung, or Liu-Sung, Hsiao wu Ti) was fond of display, wasting vast sums on palaces, loving to give costly and curious presents, and devoted to women and wine. His successor Liu Tzŭ-yeh (Sung Fei Ti) degenerated into gross profligacy. When his sister complained that, whereas *he* had a whole harem, *she* had to content herself with a single husband, he at once presented her with thirty-six handsome young .ı. Other emperors followed in Nanking. One, in 471, to secure his succession, slew all of his brothers and most of his other relations, but was, we are told, a devout Buddhist and builder of monasteries. But the cup was full, and in 479 the line of Liu was supplanted by a general, Hsiao Tao-ch'êng, who ascended the throne as first Emperor of Ch'i.

In accordance with the prevailing fashion the whole Liu family was massacred. In 502 a very similar revolution placed a distant relative of Hsiao Tao-ch'êng, Hsiao Yen, on the throne as founder of the Liang dynasty.

A tradition connects this ephemeral Ch'i dynasty with the origin of the practice of cramping the feet of women. P'an Fei was the favoured concubine of the last Ch'i sovereign. Of her dancing the emperor exclaimed "every step makes lilies grow;" so he strewed the streets with golden flowers and had flowers carved in relief on the soles of her shoes, so that every step left an impress of their form. Others, who desired to have feet as daintily small as hers had to cramp their feet artificially. So cramped feet came to be called chin lien, "golden lilies," from that time on.

The usual massacre marked the fall of the Ch'i dynasty, and, though, as we shall see, Hsiao Yen was no lover of bloodshed, and wanted to save P'an Fei,—some say, indeed, to take her for his own,—she perished with the rest.

Yet all through these times of mingled license and bloodshed a vast change was taking place among the Chinese people. Buddhism, introduced in Han times, had by now percolated everywhere. At times its missionaries and proselytes were persecuted.

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We hear of this repeatedly in Pei Wei and other northern states. At other times they enjoyed favour. They travelled along the old trade routes from India through Bactria and Turkestan, bringing Sanscrit sutras and images and relics, establishing themselves in mountain and sylvan retreats, burning their incense before bloodless altars, teaching the lowly and the contrite, and setting up an ideal very different both from the self-satisfied formalism of the Confucianist and the rude savagery of the feudal warlords.

One such early shrine of Buddhist piety will be found at Chinkiang, the cave of the Hermit Fa Hai, on the Golden Hill (Chin Shan) whose pagoda-crowned summit was, till the middle of the nineteenth century, an island in the Yangtze.

We have already mentioned that this monastery is traditionally said to have been founded in the year 317. Its old name was Fou Yü,—the floating jade-stone,—because it came floating from the peaks of Yü Ching,—the "Jade Capital." Its name of Chin Shan (Golden Hill) is said to date from a certain Pei T'ou-t'o who dug in the hill and found gold there in the days of T'ang Hsüan Tsung (Ming Huang)—713 to 756,—but other authorities dismiss this story as a fable and give the name a symbolic Buddhistic meaning. Anyway, to this day, the monastery is a frequented pilgrim resort, as all must be aware who have ever noticed the crowds who flock thither once or twice every month, rather noisily riding donkeys up and down the road that leads past the British Consulate at Chinkiang to Hsiao Mat'ou.

All things in China balance. Chin Shan above Chinkiang is a companion shrine to Chiao Shan below. Chiao Shan, too, has its memorials of the age of the "Six Dynasties," namely two or three very ancient cypress trees, whose storm-riven and almost barkless trunks are held together by iron bands and built up with brickwork supports. And, inside the monastery, alongside the tripod vases and the Han war-drum, there are two fragments of an inscribed hexagonal prism-shaped pillar, said to be, like the trees, a relic of the earliest days of the Buddhists.

In 502, in the fullness of time, Buddhism had come to prevail both in south China and north. Hsiao Yen, known in history as Emperor Liang Wu Ti, who overthrew the Ch'i and founded,—one may almost say constituted, in himself alone,—the Liang dynasty, is chiefly famous as a devotee of the monks. During his long reign of forty-seven years he thrice took orders as a Buddhist priest. He founded innumerable pagodas and monasteries, among them Yü hua T'a at Nanking. He was the friend of Boddhidharma the 28th and last Patriarch of Indian, and first Patriarch of

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Chinese Buddhism, who taught that Buddha must be sought in the inward meditations of the heart rather than in outward deeds and observances, and whose miraculous crossing of the Yangtze on a reed has formed the theme of so many Chinese painters and sculptors. Wu Ti forbade the sacrifice of animals to the powers of Heaven or Earth, or to Confucius, saying that henceforth all sacrifices must be of pastry only. In his hatred of the capital penalty he so mitigated the laws that criminals went unpunished and officials oppressed the people. A passage in Procopius tells how, in his time, Persian monks got silkworms' eggs wherewith sericulture,—till then a purely Chinese industry,—passed to the court of his contemporary, Justinian of Constantinople, and so got introduced into Europe.

In the fifth year of his reign Hsiao Yen visited Chinkiang. For, in the second year of the nien-hao T'ien Chien (503) this emperor had dreamed that a divine monk urged him to institute a great fast by land and water, in order to rescue all sentient beings from the miseries of their existence. After much examination of scriptures he sent for a copy of the whole Buddhist canon, which was deposited in the palace of " redoubled clouds " (Ch'ung Yün). Day after day he spent in reading the scrolls and preparing the ceremonial, until, in the third year, the task was completed. He then built a place for religious exercises in the monastery known at that time as Tsê Hsin, but nowadays as Chin Shan, at Chinkiang, and ordered the priests to institute the congress, known as the Shui Lu Congress (Water and Land) after the model laid before them. One Sêng Yü published it in writing and a great response was evoked from the gods (A.D. 507).

Yet, for all this *éclat* at its foundation, little or nothing seems to be on record about these congresses till 1314 or 1315 when they were solemnly revived as will be related in its place. But for many centuries there remained,—perhaps there may be to this day,—a building in the monastery called the King of Liang's Hall.

During the reign of Hsüan-wu Ti of Pei Wei, who was Hsiao Yen's contemporary for the first half of his reign, the new religion was equally in favour in the north. Hsüan-wu Ti built ninety monasteries, and Boddhidharma died a guest at his capital. After Boddhidharma came the Patriarch Hui Ko, who maintained his purity for thirty-four years of preaching and daily association with the poorest and most degraded, and died at the age of 106.

Yet, for all this piety, there were wars. In 507 the Pei Wei forces attacked Liang, but were defeated at Ching-li, on the Huai river, somewhere near Hsüchou. It is to this war that the

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story belongs of the maiden Mu-lan, who took her father's place and passed herself off as a male warrior for twelve years at a frontier outpost.

There is another curious tale of the bursting in 515 of a gigantic dyke by the river Huai, said to have been 1,800 feet high,—whatever that may mean.

But for twenty years, from 527, the Liang empire, or Chêng T'ung,—genuine empire,—as it considered itself, enjoyed peace. All the history of the time tells of piety or scholarship. A characteristic tale is that of Shan Hui, a disciple of Boddhidharma, who lived by farming and, when robbers stole his grain, presented them with a basket to carry it away in. He had visions of the Buddha, and was revered by the Emperor as a teacher.

The northern power of Pei Wei, on the other hand, fell into disruption. A deserter, Hou Ching by name, from the Tung Wei kingdom,—one of the fragments into which Pei Wei had broken,—taking service in Liang, was given command of troops in 547 for a northern war. Defeated somewhere in Anhui and fearing that the enemy would demand his surrender, he rebelled, marched on Nanking and persuaded a son of the emperor to join the rebellion. They crossed the Yangtze and stormed the outer walls. Wu Ti had to negotiate and accept Hou Ching as Minister. Two years later Hou Ching rebelled again, and besieged the citadel where the Emperor's palace stood. During the siege the great Buddhist devotee ruler of southern China retired for the third time to a monastery and there perished of hunger (549).

The Liang empire lingered a few years longer under princes helplessly dependent on Hou Ching, then split into fragments, and in 555 was displaced by a revolution that put Ch'ên Pao-hsien on the throne as founder of a new dynasty of Ch'ên.

The tombs of the Liang rulers, including that of Hsiao Shun-chi, father of the pious Hsiao Yen, are about eight miles from Tanyang, and so quite near to Chinkiang. They have been explored and found to be ornamented with specimens of sculpture that rank as works of art only second to the famous stone horses which guard the grave of T'ang Kao-tsung near Hsian, and which they antedate by about 150 years.

For, whatever judgement men may pass on the moral or intellectual worth of Buddhism, there can be no question of its importance as an inspiration of art. What has come down to us of the art of Chou times, for instance the patterns on ancient bronzes, seems much on a level with the art of the Maoris of New Zealand, o the carvers of those funeral totem posts that are found on the shores of British Columbia and Alaska. It

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consists of conventional designs, such as a sort of "key" pattern, not continuous like the Greek key but cut up into panels,—or strange monstrous forms suggestive of the eyes and lips of a bogey,—the "T'ao T'ieh" of old mythology. The art of the Han era shows a decided advance. Its basreliefs at any rate show recognizable human and animal forms; men with immense mortar-board hats, quaint, impossibly fat horses prancing on utterly inadequate little legs, but to me at least the adjective that seems best to describe it is "comic."

(The *New China Review* for July, 1919, contains a paper by Rev. Benjamin L. Ancell, D.D., describing a Han dynasty artistic relic of extraordinary interest, preserved at Paoying, on the Grand Canal between Yangchou and Tsingkiangpu, which should be worth the inspection of any Chinkiang resident who may be travelling that way. This is a portion of one of a pair of Stone Gates that must have once ornamented the grave of some person of distinction. It is adorned with sculptures, or pictures in low relief, of which the top picture represents the famous meeting of Confucius and Laotzŭ. Below this in the central part is a picture of doubtful meaning that some have taken for a figure of Buddha, but which is more probably a representation of the last of the Dukes of Fêng, with a wine cup to indicate his intemperate habits, some musical instrument, and two attendants. The bottom picture shows a kitchen with cooks, cooking vessels and meat on a trident. On the rear of the stone are also three pictures, figuring a large bird, an animal with a ring in its mouth and a soldier with sword and shield, supposed to be engaged in a military dance. Tradition has it that the lost portion of the Gate bore pictures of the famous model brothers Pai-yi and Shu-ch'i, and this is rendered probable by the fact that the portion which remains of the top piece of the gate bears the characters Yi Ch'i Hsiang," sc. "The likeness of (Pai)-Yi and (Shu)-ch'i." The extreme interest and importance of so early a representation of Confucius hardly needs emphasizing.)

With the coming in of Buddhist influences the artistic advance is startling. We are at once in presence of a mature art, complete along its own line of development. Not only is there a reflexion of Greek and Hindu inspiration, but, added to this, a naturalness and a love for the wilder aspects of scenery that Greece and India were alike strangers to. Figures of haunting sweetness, both carved and coloured, marble Kuanyins and Sakyamunis, not grotesque like the conventionalized types of later times, besides rock carvings often of gigantic dimensions, reveal the devotion with which the zealots of the new faith sought

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to represent their ideals. In Ku K'ai-chih (time of the Eastern Chin) we have painting, still archaic in some details, but already assured in outline and correct in form. A century later we come to the sculptures of the Liang, and then to those of the T'ang Imperial tombs, not to mention the countless figurines of earthenware and terra cotta, true in modelling and varied in design, that are unearthed from graves of these ages. At its best this art has little to fear even if set beside the masterpieces of ancient Greece or the Italian Renaissance.

There is little to say about the Ch'ên dynasty that followed the Liang. Ere it sank to its dishonoured fall, a new and steadier power than China had seen for many centuries, that of Yang Chien, Duke of Sui, was reuniting the distracted states of the north into a solid Empire.

In 589 Yang Chien, known to history as Sui Kao-Tsu or Sui Wên Ti, having mastered all the north, determined to end the dissolute misrule of the last Ch'ên ruler in Nanking. The city, known at this period as Chien Kang, a variant on the older name of Chien Yeh, surrendered without opposition to the Sui generals. The Emperor, Ch'ên Shu-pao, nicknamed Hou Chu, the "last lord," seeing no way of escape, hid himself in a well with some of his many mistresses,—one of whom, we learn, had hair seven feet long,—was ignominiously dragged out, taken to Ch'angan, the Sui Capital, and not even deemed worth the trouble of being put to death. But the city of Chien Kang (Nanking) was totally destroyed and from that time, till near the end of the T'ang era, the place was reckoned a dependency of Chinkiang.

Yang Chien's exploits as a ruler and conqueror rival those of Ts'in Shih Huang-ti, but in disposition there was little in common between these two unifiers of China. With him Chinese history emerges from its long confusions and becomes dignified again. He was, *rara avis* among Asiatic kings, the faithful husband of one wife. Though some of his northern campaigns read bloodily enough, he was no lover of slaughter; the internal administration was good and the people content.

But from our local point of view, history seems to lose its majesty and importance. After being the capital city of a long succession of sovereign princes and dynasties, Nanking ceased, for a time, to be a place of importance, and the whole Wu country became a mere province of the Sui empire.

In 605 Yang Chien was slain and succeeded by his son Yang Kuang, Emperor Sui Yang Ti,—a famous ruffian,—one of those fantastic megalomaniacs of the Xerxes-Caligula type who serve to relieve the monotony of chronicles.

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He indulged in boundless extravagance; he built palaces and pleasure gardens all over the Empire,—among others, one at Chiang-tu, which most of us know better by its prefectural name of Yangchou. From Yangchou to the Huang Ho he dug a canal, the still existing Grand Canal. Along its banks and on the road from Yangchou to the capital were no less than forty palaces. On his progresses he travelled with a fleet of dragon boats manned by eighty thousand sailors, and he took with him his harem of four thousand ladies. He employed a million men on rebuilding the Great Wall. He led an army into the northern steppes; countless tribes flocked to offer their tribute and allegiance; he amused them with sumptuous theatricals and games. His flatterers told him that the 150 provinces and 1,155 districts of his Empire held 8,090 million families,—say, three times the present population of the world. All the barbarians sent envoys except Korea, so he declared war on Korea and invaded it with 1,300,000 men, crossing the Liao by three bridges. But the commissariat broke down and the expedition was a disaster, and, behind it, the country rose in revolt. Returning, the emperor found the Turks invading his northern frontiers. He was besieged by them in a place called Yen Mên, but either ransomed or relieved by the arrival of reinforcements, and returned in 616 to his pleasure house at Yangchou. But this was as much as his subjects could stand, and in the next two years eighteen revolutionary movements, important enough to be narrated in the histories, broke out in various parts of China and resulted, after a long and confused scramble, in the downfall of the Sui and the accession of Li Yüan (Emperor T'ang Kao Tsu) as the first sovereign of the far more famous dynasty of T'ang. (624).

(5) *The T'ANG, WU and NAN T'ANG.*

The real hero of the revolutionary war was Li Shih-min, son of Kao Tsu, on whose retirement in 627 he came to the throne to win fame as the great T'ang T'ai-tsung. The T'ang dynasty ruled for nearly three hundred years and revived or surpassed the brightest glories of the Han, but their story belongs to the general history of China more than to that of our special region. The north and south banks of the Lower Yangtze formed the T'ang provinces of Huai-nan and Kiang-nan respectively,—both names being still fairly familiar.

All these south eastern provinces grew in wealth, population and general advancement during T'ang times. Indeed, further south in Fukien, the feeling that they were incorporated in Chinese civilization in T'ang times leads the people to call

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themselves "T'ang-jên" to this day. Cities grew and multiplied; Arab seamen were beginning maritime intercourse with the distant west; the whole Chinese world and its outlook were expanding; Korea was conquered, and through Korea Chinese art, literature and institutions passed, with the Buddhist religion, into Japan.

The first serious breach in the T'ang monarchy came through the usurpations of the masterful Empress Wu, who called herself Wu the Goddess "Wu Tsê T'ien," and her rule the Chou Dynasty (683 to 705). A restoration followed her downfall and from 713 to 755 China was governed by Li Lung-chi (Emperor T'ang Hsüan Tsung the first, more familiarly known as Ming Huang). The early promise of a great reign was clouded later by many extravagances, and by infatuation for the too-famous beauty Yang Kuei-fei, whose goings-on led to An Lu-shan's rebellion and a complex turmoil of civil wars,—the second stage in the decay of the T'ang.

Under T'ang Hsüan Tsung a certain Pei T'ou-t'o, having found gold buried under the monastery hill of Fou Yü or Tsê Hsin at Chinkiang, the name was changed, it is said, to Chin Shan,—"Golden Hill." There is a rock on the hill still known as T'ou T'o's cliff.

To the confused times of An Lu-shan's revolt belongs a person of the utmost importance to the present-day life of Chinkiang,—Chang Hsün, the earthly incarnation of the favourite local deity, the Tu T'ien P'usa. Chang Hsün, a native of Nanyang in Honan, was sent to fight the Turks, and though, or perhaps because, he set aside all ancient ideas of tactics, he was brilliantly victorious. His discipline was so perfect that one of his officers received six arrows in the face without budging from his assigned post. Chang Hsün performed prodigies of valour in the war against An Lu-shan. Later he heroically defended the town of Sui Yang against An Lu-shan's son. Provisions ran short but he would not yield, even sacrificing his favourite concubine. It was said that when water ran short and the enemy were suspected of poisoning the remaining wells, he volunteered to test the truth of the report in his own person, with such a result that he is always represented with a blackened face. Poisoned as he was, at length the enemy broke in among the enfeebled garrison and he was put to death. After his death it was found that he had ground his teeth down level with the gums, so great was his patriotic rage. So later ages held him up as a hero, and by degrees attributed to him all kinds of weather-compelling functions, and somehow his cult has centralized itself

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along the Grand Canal, and especially at Chinkiang. The chief local shrine of the Tu T'ien P'usa is some distance outside the south gate, a little beyond the shell of a Ming pagoda that forms one of the chief landmarks of our district. But there are many others; one in the new Malu, another in a village on the road to the Bamboo Grove; another in the village of Tu T'ien Miao where the battery is on the north shore of the Yangtze abreast of Chiao Shan.

And, every year, in May, Chinkiang is flooded by crowds of country folk, who come to see the show when the Tu T'ien P'usa with dozens of other gods is paraded through the streets.

Once more the T'ang power was restored, chiefly by the exertions of the great general Kuo Tzŭ-i, noted as the conqueror of the Turks, many of whom he settled in north China, where, as at Chinanfu and Newchwang, the present Mohammedan communities declare that they are descendants of these prisoners; noted also as a friend of the Nestorian Christians, even if he was not, as some declare, himself a convert to that faith.

But the continually increasing independence of provincial governors, the infatuation of successive emperors for mystics and charlatans,—the Rasputins of those days,—rivalries, faction fights, border wars, corruption of every kind, in spite of good intentions that paved the successive stages of the road to destruction, gradually sapped the fabric of T'ang greatness during the next hundred years. In 878 the mighty convulsion of Huang Ch'ao's rebellion brought it for the third time to the brink.

Again a shadow of the tottering T'ang dominion was restored, and it was upheld for a generation longer through the prowess of the Turkish Dictator or adventurer, Li K'o-yung (Li the Useful; his surname of Li was acquired by adoption into the Imperial House); but in 907 it collapsed irretrievably.

Under the T'ang flourished, among countless others, China's greatest poets, Li T'ai-po and Tu Fu, Wu Tao-tzŭ who, with Li Lung-mien (Japanese Ririomin) of the Sung period, are her greatest artists, and her greatest musician Li Kuei-nien. In religion, most of the schools of Buddhism and most of the elaborations of Taoism then took root, while Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Mohammedanism and (probably) Judaism were introduced and exerted a certain influence. The old national philosophy was less suited to so artistic and emotional an age, and it is only towards the end of the T'ang rule that we find Han Yü (Han Wên Kung,—768 to 824), in protests against the adoration of an alleged bone of Buddha, indicating the approach

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of that intellectual revival which, as the Confucian Renaissance, was a little later to mark the maturity of the Chinese mind.

Some time before the end of the ninth century an outer wall, called Lo Ch'êng, said to have been 26 *li* in length (but the *li* must have been very small) was built round Chinkiang, with numerous gates; also two connecting walls (chia ch'êng) of which the description suggests that they were walls joining Sun Ch'uan's *tzŭ ch'êng* to the west and south-west parts of the outer wall. By 1208-1224 this outer wall was in ruins, and in 1214 the gates had to be altered and two new ones added.

The fall of the T'ang dynasty laid bare the fact that China had reverted to feudalism again. In Shantung and round Pien-liang (K'aifêng, which, in the late confusions, had become the final T'ang capital) a deserter from Huang Ch'ao's rebellion, Chu Wên or Chu Ch'uan-chung, had usurped authority and proclaimed the Hou Liang (Later Liang) dynasty. But in the old capitals of Ch'angan and T'aiyuan the Turkish chieftain Li K'o-yung, relying on his adoption into the old Imperial family, professed to continue the T'ang succession. Each of these rival powers had, besides their mutual contests, to maintain itself against an outside enemy, Li against the Tangut Toba Ssŭchung and his north-western empire of Hsia, Chu against the Ch'itan (Kitai or Cathayan) invaders who, under Abaki, were building up that realm of Cathay whose name has stuck to northern China ever since.

It is not wonderful that the Yangtze and southern provinces should, under these conditions, have broken out into local independence. I do not propose to waste my time over telling all the revolutions of all the states; you can best picture the situation by thinking of every province as normally an independent state, as commonly at war with its neighbours and as sometimes convulsed by internal revolution as well.

On the Lower Yangtze the process began early. In 894 Ch'ien Ch'iu or Ch'ien Liu, a salt smuggler of Lin-an (Hangchou) and already, for many years before that date, a power in the land, had set himself up as King of Wu. But in 901, on the Governor of Huai-nan, Yang Hsing-mi, also proclaiming himself by the same title of King of Wu at Yangchou, Ch'ien changed the style of his kingdom to Wu-Yüeh. It would be an enticing theme to trace the story of King Ch'ien Ch'iu and his son and grandsons, and all that they did to create an oasis of wisdom and prosperity amid the chaos of tenth-century misery and misrule, but just now we are concerned not with Chekiang but with Chinkiang, and Chinkiang fell to the other Wu kingdom, that of the Yangs.

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King Yang Hsing-mi died in his seventh year, 906, and was succeeded by his son, Yang Wu. But this monarch's innovations causing general discontent, he was murdered (908) and a brother, Yang Lung-yen, became king, and was confirmed by the Hou Liang emperor of Pienliang, who made it his policy to anticipate and legalise such local kingdoms, the rise of which he was wholly powerless to prevent, by recognizing their hereditary titles, perhaps in the hope of finding in them useful allies against foreign foes or dangerous rivals.

King Yang Lung-yen died in 921, and under another brother, Yang P'u, the capital was moved from Yangchou to Nanking.

Two years later the Hou Liang Empire, now ruling in Loyang, collapsed, and for thirteen years descendants of Li K'o-yung restored what they were pleased to call the T'ang, but what history knows as the Hou T'ang (Later T'ang) Empire. This change made little difference to Wu, but, in 936, when this revived T'ang dynasty fell in its turn before the rebellion of Shih Chung-t'ang, and the Hou Chin dynasty took its place, King Yang P'u of Wu thought the time had come to take a leaf out of old Sun Ch'uan's book, and call himself an Emperor too.

But in the following year he was dethroned by a revolution that put a certain Prince of Ch'i, Hsü Chih-kao, by name, on the throne of Wu, and with the accession of this new dynasty the name of the state was changed also, and for the next forty years it was styled Nan T'ang (Southern T'ang).

Under the Hsü dynasty of Emperors of Nan T'ang the walls of Chinkiang were repaired, or perhaps the extensions and repairs mentioned as executed in the previous century were completed, for two of the gates in the Nan T'ang wall are mentioned as having existed in the period 874 to 880.

Emperor Hsü Chih-kao died in 946 and was succeeded by his son Hsü Li-ching, who at once embarked in a policy of intervention in the affairs of Min (Fukien), where he overthrew both the claimants to the disputed throne, and annexed the whole country to the Nant'ang dominions. Thus Nant'ang, which already included the whole of Kiangsi, besides most of Anhui and Kiangsu, became one of the largest states in China, and quite encircled the little Chekiang kingdom of Wu-Yüeh.

Almost at this moment a great wave of Ch'itan-Manchu invasion swept the Hou Chin Empire in the north out of existence, and to save the land from entire anarchy a certain Liu Chih-yüan was proclaimed Emperor of Hou Han. But this power was only momentary. A civil war and another Ch'itan invasion caused its overthrow (951) and Kuo Wei founded the dynasty of Hou Chou.

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In 956 the Hou Chou Empire declared war on Emperor Hsü Li-ching of Nant'ang, and annexed all the latter's territory north of the Yangtze, also forcing him to abandon the use of the title of Emperor. Nant'ang thus became a purely southern state. Though defeated by Hou Chou and unable to recover its old territories from the Sung Power which, under Chao Kuang-yin (Sung T'ai Tsu) took Hou Chou's place in 960, Nant'ang indulged in a war of conquest on its own account and annexed the whole of the kingdom of Ch'u, which had, since 907, reigned over Hunan, etc., under a dynasty of the surname Ma, with capital at Ch'ang-sha.

In 964 the Nant'ang realm split into two, King Hsü Li-ching retiring to Nanch'ang, then known as Hungchou, which he made his principal capital, while his son, Hsü Li-yü, reigning at Nanking, resumed the old title of King of Wu, which had been abandoned when the Yang family were turned out in 937.

It is related of King Hsü Li-yü that he had a favourite concubine Yao Niang, whose dainty feet were imitated by other ladies. So we have another story, like that of P'an Fei 450 years before, professing to account for the foot-cramping practice; but it is not likely that either is authentic.

By this time, however, the age of local feudal kingdoms was passing away before the revived Empire founded by the Sung rulers Chao Kuang-yin (Sung T'ai Tsu,—960 to 976) and his brother Chao Kuang-i (Sung T'ai Tsung,—976 to 998).

In 974 the Emperor sent a famous and scholarly commander, Tsao Pin, who had already distinguished himself in reducing the upper Yangtze Shu kingdom, Ssŭch'uan, to allegiance, on a campaign against Nant'ang and Wu. Tsao Pin swept the Yangtze with his fleet. In order to transport troops for the investment of Nanking, which was held by Hsü Li-yü, he threw a bridge of boats across the river at Ts'ai Shih. He made his officers swear not to slay a single adversary needlessly, then gave the signal for the assault. This merciful policy was rewarded by the bloodless surrender of the city, and the submission of the king of Wu was courteously accepted. Shortly afterwards King Hsü Li-yü proceeded in person to the imperial Sung capital of Pienliang, where he was graciously taken into favour and granted the honourable title of Marquis of Wei Ming. Thus the Sung power was extended over the whole south-east of China, leaving only the little enclave of Wu Yüeh, and four years later (978) the sovereign of that country also acknowledged allegiance in return for a title.

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About two miles west of Chinkiang railway station there is a spot where the floods of last summer necessitated the repair of a railway bridge. On the rising land close alongside will be found a temple called Hsü Wang Miao, the Temple of the Hsü Kings, dedicated to the memory of the Hsü family of kings of Nan-t'ang.

(6) *In the days of the SUNG.*

For three hundred years,—974 to 1276,—this part of China remained faithful to the Sung Empire, that great, solid, mature-minded dominion of the learned that systematised Confucianism and cast China into its modern mould.

The most interesting Sung dynasty relic,—if it is Sung,—at Chinkiang is a remarkable cast-iron pagoda-shaped construction that stands outside a gateway in the eastern side of the group of temples and memorial shrines that crown Kan-lu headland, commonly known to foreigners as "Consular Bluff." This extremely curious object is adorned with numerous Buddhistic figures, but my examination failed to discover any inscription on it. It is commonly said to have been dragged up from the bed of the Yangtze, but of this I have found no evidence. The Tan-t'u Hsien Topography mentions the name of the official who erected it, but gives no date. However, another passage in the same work states that a memorial shrine was erected to this individual by Lin Hsi, prefect of Chinkiang, between the years 1086 and 1092, so it is plain that he was then dead, and we may safely say that this cast-iron pagoda is at least as old as the time of William the Conqueror.

Indeed, it may be very much older. It is described in Captain Granville G. Loch's "Closing Events of the Campaign in China " (London, 1843), where it is stated that Mr. Gutzlaff, the well-known missionary who with Messrs. Morrison and Thom acted as interpreter to the British at that time, told Captain Loch that it was, "from the inscription and characters, marking the epoch by their form, at least 1,200 years old; that would carry its origin back to the T'ang dynasty." But, as I said, I failed to find any inscription when I examined this pagoda.

The Tan-t'u Hsien Chih is also my authority for saying that the little temple of Kuan Yin Tung (Kuanyin's Cave), close to the British Consulate, is a Sung dynasty foundation. The only visible inscription on the very curious and ancient-looking archway over the roadway there, under the heavy Buddhistic dagoba, records that it was restored in the 10th year of Wan-li of the Ming dynasty, or 1582, but of course that implies that it

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was then old enough to require restoration. No doubt there are many Sung dynasty temples in the neighbourhood if one could trace them after the wholesale devastation of religious monuments perpetrated by the Taipings and others in this district.

Already under the third Sung ruler, Chao Hêng (Emperor Sung Chên Tsung,—998-1022) a treaty of 1004 made the Empire practically tributary to the Ch'itan of the north, to whom a yearly subsidy of 200,000 pieces of silk and 100,000 taels of silver was promised, and from this time onwards a perpetual struggle with the nomads served to postpone, but not to avert, the eventual subjection of China to the peoples of the desert.

This same Chên Tsung endowed the Taoist Papacy in Kiangsi, and, on a "letter from God," written on yellow silk, floating down from on high, built the great Tai Miao temple at T'aian and gave to the pilgrimages to T'ai Shan their modern importance. In this reign the Golden Island Monastery at Chinkiang was given the name of Lung Yu Ch'an Ssŭ,—Monastery of Meditation of the Swan's Swim,—in consequence of the Emperor having a dream that he went swimming there. The name was given to the Island in 1012, and extended to the Monastery in 1021. The name implies that the Amidist school of Buddhism, the worship of Omito Fo, had by this time captured the place.

In 1067 the greatest of Chinese "innovators," Wang An-shih, whom some people have lately called the "first Bolshevist,"—round whose projects of reform the whole politics of that age revolved,—became prefect of Kiangning (Nanking), but, on the accession of the sixth Sung ruler, Chao Hsü (Sung Shên Tsung,—1068-1086) he left his provincial post to become the chief adviser of the sovereign in the capital. At that time he was regarded as a heaven-sent regenerator of society, but his schemes and the question how far they failed, and what they resulted in, belong to the general history of China and need not be detailed here.

About this time lived one Shên Kua of Hangchou, Chancellor of the Hanlin College, who was known as "Mêng Ch'i Wêng," the "Brook-dreaming Old Man," because he saw in a dream a stream exactly resembling the scenery at Tanyang. He seems to have collaborated with the best-known poet of those days, Su Shê, commonly called Su Tung P'o,—Su of the Eastern Hillside,—in writing a treatise on medicine, and also, as a military commander, to have got involved in a terrific disaster which cost China sixty thousand lives. Perhaps the theory of the learned that a Confucian scholar was fitted for all forms of public duty did not find in him its happiest exemplification.

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In the Abbot's quarters at Golden Island there is kept a remarkable belt, studded with slabs of jade stone and alleged to have belonged to the above named poet Su Tung P'o (1036 to 1101), and I note that, though Su Tung P'o's career is mainly concerned with Hangchou and partly with the far south of China, he died not so very far off from Chinkiang, namely at Ch'ang-chou.

In the year of his death the throne of China passed to the eighth Sung ruler, Chao Chi (Sung Hui Tsung), who, although as Emperor his reign was disastrous, possesses the rare distinction among sovereign princes of being not only an amateur and collector of artistic objects, but himself perhaps the foremost painter of his age. Many of his studies of bird life, especially, are well known and admired,—in original or copy,- -by every connoisseur of Chinese art. Perhaps he had a better claim than his contemporary, Henry the First of England, to the nick-name of Beauclerk.

The administration, which had been previously brought back to sound and well-tried Confucian principles by the conservative and literary opponents of Wang An-shih, plunged once more under Hui Tsung into revolutionary paths, driven by ministers known as the "six robbers," of whom the chief were Ts'ai Ch'ing and his brother Ts'ai Pien, the latter being a son-in-law of Wang An-shih. This Ts'ai Pien appears to have died at Chinkiang.

In spite of humiliating tribute, the Sung Empire was never free from Ch'itan, or, as it had come to be called, Liao, aggression. In Hui Tsung's reign the notion came to prevail that deliverance might be obtained if a foe could be raised up in the rear of the Liao power, and so alliance was made with Aguda, the rising chieftain of the North-Manchurian tribe of the Nü-chên, or Chin (Kin,—Golden) Tartars of the Sungari. The result was a terrific disaster to China. For eight or nine years Aguda kept his bargain ; the Liao-Ch'itan monarchy was duly crushed,—all but a fragment, the Kara-Khitai, who migrated into the western wildernesses to found, between Samarkand and Bokhara, the Western Liao Kingdom of Kermania. But in 1124 Aguda died and disputes at once began between the Sung and his successor as to dividing the spoil, the Nüchên demanding a far larger share than had ever been anticipated.

This demand caused a panic in the Sung capital of Pienliang. The artist-emperor was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, and to content himself with a Taoist title which reads as if it meant some sort of archbishop, For a while he retired to Chinkiang (1126). But it was no use. The Nüchên-Chin Tartars invaded

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China in force; Pienliang was besieged for thirty-three days; an enormous indemnity was demanded. To this the new emperor, against the advice of his ministers, agreed, but, as it was impossible to raise the sum required, the upshot was that the new emperor, the artist ex-emperor and most of the imperial family were taken into captivity by the enemy, and the whole north of China was lost (December, 1126), and formed the realm of the Chin (Golden) Tartars till the coming of the Mongol. Hui Tsung died their prisoner in 1130.

The disastrous issue of the Nüchên war led to the proclamation in 1127 of Hui Tsung's fifth son, Chao Kou or Prince K'ang (Sung Kao Tsung), at Nanking, as first emperor of the sadly shorn Southern Sung Dynasty. He reigned thirty-six years, but, as even Nanking was too much in the line of fire, his seat of government was moved in 1137 to Lin-an (Hangchou), which, under him and his successors developed into that wonderful city of Kinsay (Ching-ssŭ, "the Capital") about which Marco Polo waxes so eloquent.

The struggle against dismemberment was carried on long and vigorously, the protagonist in these wars being the model patriot of Chinese popular fancy, Yo Fei, ultimately destroyed by the stock example of treason, the infamous Ch'in Kuei.

In 1144, however, a peace was patched up, on the basis of partition,—nearly everything north of the Yangtze going to the Chin,—who, in return, surrendered the encoffined remains of the artist ex-emperor Hui Tsung, whom they had captured eighteen years before.

In this same year, 1144, there was founded at Chinkiang a great government hostelry called the Tanyang Kuan. It was to the west of a bridge called Ch'ien Ch'iu Ch'iao,—the Bridge of a Thousand Autumns,—and beside a canal, with landing places attached. In 1271 it was restored, and a very famous personage, Liu Hsiu-fu, whom we shall hear of again in his proper place, composed a commemorative inscription. After the Mongol conquest it was enlarged so as to have 109 rooms, with stabling for 80 horses, of which 40 were kept constantly saddled, as well as 30 boats, always ready for the use of guests. It seems to have been inside the present city, about where the road from the west gate crosses the canal, before you get to the Ch'êng Huang temple.

War began again in 1160, and, for a while, victory favoured the south. In 1161 the Sung forces, commanded by Wei Shêng, a general of lowly birth, recaptured Haichou from the Nüchên, but in 1164 he fell in battle. This Wei Shêng is reputed to have been the first to use gunpowder in war; not, apparently, as a

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force to drive projectiles, (that does not appear in China till 1407, somewhat later than in Europe) but as the basis of some preparation of the nature of "Greek Fire."

Another commander in these wars, Yang Tsun-chung, of immense strength, fought two hundred fights and bore the scars of fifty wounds. In 1163 the enemy made a raid on Nanking but were severely defeated at Ts'ai-shih, the same place where Ts'ao Po had made his bridge of boats nearly two hundred years before. Shortly after, peace was again patched up.

The reigns of Sung Hsiao Tsung (1163 to 1190), Kuang Tsung (1190 to 1195), and Ning Tsung (1195 to 1225) were the Golden Age of Confucian scholarship,—the times of the greatest of all the schoolmen, Chu Hsi (1130-1200). Also they were the days of paper money, of which over 46 million taels were issued in 1160, and other large amounts in other years. Financial recklessness undermined the Southern Sung in Hangchou just as socialistic vagaries had undermined their predecessors in the Pienliang days.

During the years that bear the nien-hao Chia Ting (1208 to 1224), forming part of the reign of Sung Ning Tsung, a Topographical Encyclopædia of Chinkiang prefecture (Chênchiang-fu Chih) was compiled, apparently by a certain Lu Hsien. This work had been long lost and unknown, when, in 1795, an imperfect manuscript copy, seemingly about half the original, as well as a somewhat less imperfect manuscript of a similar topographical work dating from the fourth year of the nien-hao Chih Shun (1333), came into the hands of the famous writer and statesman Yüan Yüan,—the same who had a good deal of trouble with the English East India Company in the 'twenties of last century. Yüan Yüan presented the manuscripts to the Imperial Palace, after making two transcripts, one of which he kept, while the other was deposited in the library of the Chiao Shan monastery in Chinkiang. From these two transcripts Yüan Yüan, then in his 78th year, had a printed edition made in 1842, with preface, critical notes, appendix, etc., written by himself and others. This edition is now uncommon, but two copies are, or were, in Moscow, one, formerly belonging to Mr. Clement Allen of the British Consular Service, is in the British Museum, and another in the Jesuit Mission Library at Sikawei, which also possesses Yüan Yüan's own manuscript transcript as made ready for publication. These old books are the principal authority for the early history of Chinkiang, and, as we shall presently see, afford evidence as to early Christian activity in our neighbourhood.

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Just at the time when Lu Hsien was at work on his Topography, the greatest convulsion in the whole history of Asia was developing. Genghis Khan, son of Yesukai, born in 1161, succeeded in 1206 to the chieftainship of the rapidly growing power of the Mongols and, ere he died in 1227, he had not only shaken the Nüchên-Chin Empire in North China to its base, but had established himself as overlord of the Western Liao, of all that is now Turkestan, had attacked Persia and was preparing for the conquest of India.

The rise of this Mongol portent, threatening the rear of their old Chin enemy, was quite too great a temptation for the purblind statesmen of the Sung. Just as their great-grandfathers had allied themselves with the Nüchên to break the Ch'i-tan, so did the advisers of Chao Yün (Emperor Sung Li Tsung, 1225 to 1265) fall into the trap of calling in the Mongols to rid themselves of the Chin-Nüchên. In 1233 an alliance was struck between the Sung and the Mongol Grand Kaan, Ogdai. After a short campaign, Pienliang was taken by the allies, the last Chin Emperor was slain, and, by command of the Sung sovereign, his head was severed from his corpse in revenge for the treatment meted over a century before to the artist emperor Hui Tsung and his son. But the Mongols failed to carry out an alleged article of the treaty of alliance whereby they were to have given Pienliang and the burial places of the old Sung emperors as part of the Sung share of the spoil, and, in an evil hour, Sung Li Tsung accepted the advice of certain of his generals to try to recover them by force.

By 1237 the Sung and Mongol powers were at war; in another year or two the Sung armies were beaten back to the line of the Huai, and then from the Huai to the Yangtze.

Had it not been that the Mongol forces were just then diverted westward by Batu's dramatic invasion of Europe (1240-1241) the end of Chinese independence could not have been long delayed. The western wars of the Mongols, the panic of Europe, the recovery from that panic, the sending of Franciscan friars to open intercourse with the new power, the Mongol co-operation with Christendom in the last Crusades, with the immense significance in world-history of these astonishing events, are, however, no part of our present story.

For about twenty years the war between the Sung and the Mongols hung fire. During the reign of Mangu that sovereign's greater brother, Kublai, was busy, from 1251 on, with campaigns in Yünnan and the south-west, and it was not till his succession as Grand Kaan in 1259 that more vigorous measures were taken.

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In an unlucky hour for the Sung cause the army was entrusted to an Imperial Commissioner named Chia Ssŭ-tao, brother of the emperor's favourite palace lady. Chia Ssŭ-ţao's lying bulletins and reports of imaginary victories lulled the infatuated court at Hangchou into inaction, while opportunity after opportunity slipped away.

One of Chia Ssŭ-tao's colleagues in iniquity, Ting Ta-ch'uan, was a native of Chinkiang. He is said to have had a blue face. Like his chief he had relations in the imperial harem and used the resulting influence to enrich himself and play the tyrant. His greed and his deceit in concealing Mongol victories led to his degradation, and in 1262 he was banished to Kueichou, where he was accused of fomenting a rebellion of the aboriginal tribes. A demand was made that he should be marooned on a desert island somewhere, but on the way thither he was pushed overboard and drowned.

For the moment the Mongol storm was bought off by offers of tribute and vassalage, for Kublai was anxious to return to the north. The Mongols therefore withdrew from Wuch'ang and Ch'angsha, but their rearguard was treacherously attacked and their envoys cast into prison in the vain hope of concealing from the public the harshness of the terms of peace, and so, once more, Kublai prepared for the attack.

Before active operations were resumed, however, Emperor Sung Li Tsung died, (1265) after a reign of forty years, and his nephew, Chao Chi (Sung Tu Tsung),—a hopeless drunkard,—came to the throne in Hangchou. Again all power was centred in the hands of the fatuous Chia Ssŭ-tao, who built himself expensive villas by the West Lake, and trusted that Kublai would be too busy with the diversion of a Japanese war and by rebellions in the north to pursue his old policy of conquest.

But in 1273, after a long siege, in which the Venetians, Matteo, Nicholas and Marco Polo, gave valuable advice as to the construction of mangonels, Fanch'êng and Hsiangyang, the two cities that face one another on opposite banks of the Han river, fell to the Mongols, and the road was open for the final onslaught on the Sung dominions. Then Wuch'ang fell, and the conquering army, under the great Bayan, advanced down the Yangtze. Crossing at Wuhu, Bayan there utterly defeated Chia Ssŭ-tao, who fled to Yangchou. Nanking and Chinkiang were then captured, (1275) after a naval action on the river, and when some reinforcements had come up from Jaochou on the Poyang Lake, the march on Hangchou was resumed, along the line of the Grand Canal.

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Meanwhile Emperor Tu Tsung died (1275), worn out at thirty-five by dissipation, and was succeeded by his infant son Chao Hsien (Sung Kung Tsung), aged four, under the regency of the Empress-mother Hsieh.

At Ch'angchou the Mongols met with stubborn resistance, and when the city was at length taken, Bayan allowed the whole population to be massacred. Marco Polo has mixed up this incident with a story of the treacherous murder of certain Alans,—Christians from the Caucasus country, serving with the Mongols,—in revenge for which a similar vengeance had been dealt out to the town of Ch'ênchou in Honan;—doubtless the similarity of the names misled him. With this exception the advancing host met no serious opposition. Soochow, overawed by the example made of Ch'angchou, surrendered without a blow, and in April, 1276, Hangchou, probably at that time the most populous and wealthy city in the world, followed.

It is not part of our purpose to follow in detail the pitiful tale of the fugitive Sung court through its wanderings to the south; how a baby prince, Chao Shih, aged eight, was proclaimed at Foochow, and two years later another little prince, Chao Ping, also aged eight, served as a figure head for the final rally at Yaishan in the Canton delta, till, after a long series of horrors and sufferings, and the loss of many thousand lives, that same Lu Hsiu-fu, native of Chinkiang, who but a few years before had been composing commemorative inscriptions for the government hostelry in his native town, loyally grasped the infant sovereign in his arms, leapt into the sea and disappeared with him in a watery grave. Another famous patriot, Chang Shih-chieh, attempting to escape with the Dowager Empress to Tungking perished in a typhoon at sea. A third, Wen T'ien-Hsiang, after creating various diversions in Fukien and Kuangtung, was taken prisoner and brought to Peking, where, refusing to bend the knee to new masters, he was put to death. There is a memorial to him at Nantungchou, so that he, as well as Liu Hsiu-fu, has a connection with our district. The Sung Empire was ended.

[*To be concluded.*]

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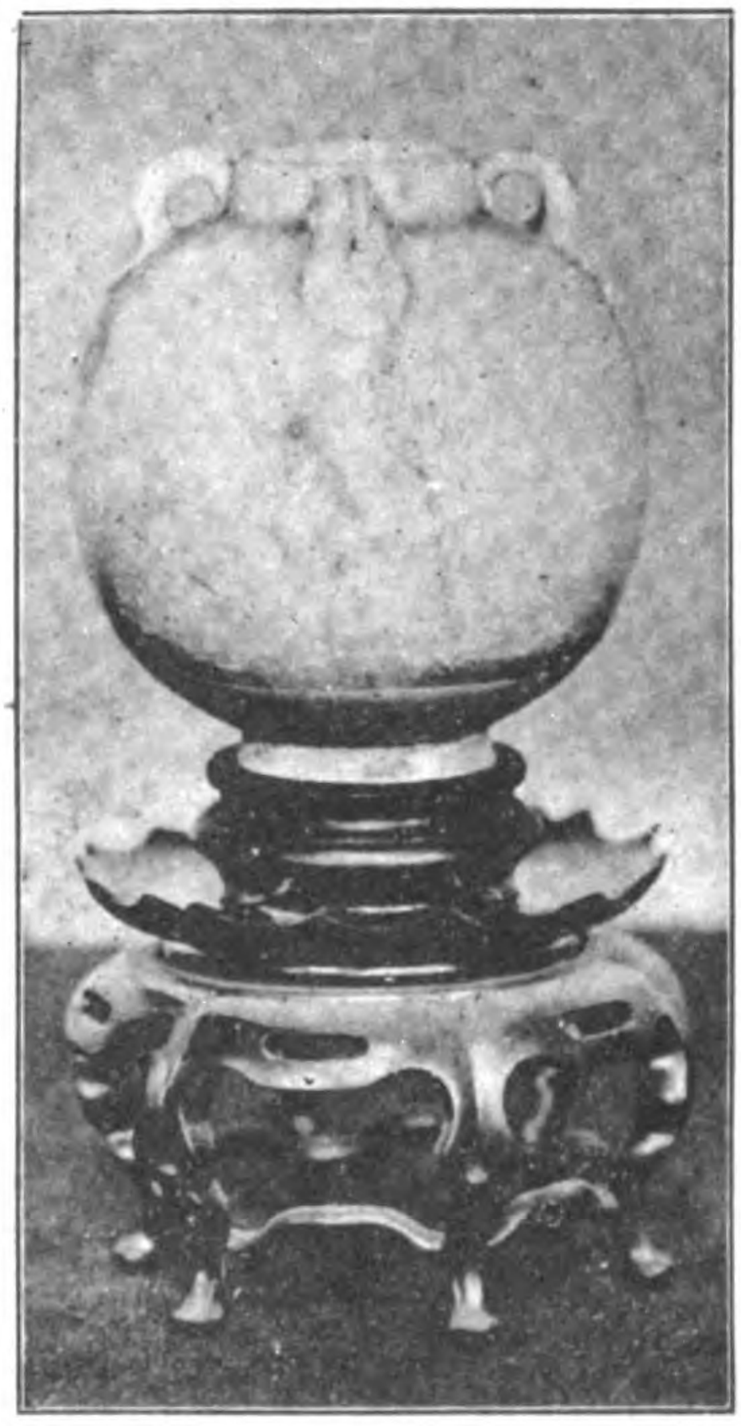

GLOBULAR VASE

SOFT CHUN WARE

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

Sung. Globular Vase. Liquid Yellow Glaze. Height 3¼-in.—This specimen of Sung pottery is modelled in the shape of an oil container; similar 'oil cans' are used in the interior to-day, strings are passed through the four 'loops' enabling it to be hung on a cart and oil is poured out and smeared on the axles when required.

The glaze is crackled and is of a liquid yellowish tint, smooth, and clear, ending uniformly near the base, leaving it exposed, and showing that the ware is of light buff clay of fine texture. There is an attractive and refined appearance about this piece; although made for a humble use in the humdrum affairs of life, it possesses a charm for those who can see it.

Only one with an artist's soul could have achieved this and one may call this piece a "poem in pottery."

Sung. Vase of Soft Chun Ware. 10½-in.—This Vase is of the Chun type, soft clayey ware covered with an unctuous green glaze, breaking in blue lines in parts and the whole slightly crackled. There are splashes here and there of russet brown.

It is powerfully modelled and one can see that there is Græco-Bactrian influence.

It would be interesting to know whether the ancient shapes of pottery were common in design wherever civilization flourished or whether different civilizations inspired the production of differently shaped wares. Chinese pottery is considered to be artistic: was this achieved at the expense of its utility? Did the ancient moulder study dry and liquid measure, and try to produce vessels to hold a maximum capacity in as little space as possible, and also make them easy to be handled, yet not forgetting balance and proportion, thus making as perfect vessels as is humanly possible to do,—An ornament when not in use, and useful when necessary?

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SOME ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE*

By

PH. DE VARGAS, Docteur ès Lettres

(Concluded.)

I should place the beginning of the introductory chapter of China's Renaissance at the moment when its two preparatory currents, indigenous scholarship and Western civilization, joined hands in the attempted reforms of K'ang Yu Wei and Kuang Hsü. But I consider that a more radical departure took place around the years 1915-1920, when the alliance of Chinese and Western learning became complete, making possible the appropriation of the entire range of Western culture by the Chinese mind.

This throwing down of the last barriers which limited the Chinese mind, this complete liberation of Chinese modes of thinking and feeling, had a powerful awakening effect on all phases of the nation's life. It would be a fascinating study to trace the results of this revival in the changing aspects of politics, particularly in the development of a public opinion with which the government had to reckon ; in the growth of commerce and industry leading to the rise of a commercial and banking class conscious of its influence on the national life, and to the beginnings of industrial problems ; in the changes in the daily habits and social customs, sometimes glaring, sometimes elusive, especially the unexpectedly easy progress of feminism ; in the efflorescence of philosophic thought, centering largely around the theme of humanism ; in the stirrings of the religious life and thought : Confucian society, Buddhistic revival, æstheticism, or a truly

* A paper read before the Wên Yu Hui 文友會, Peking, February 15, 1922.

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indigenous Christianity. Among all those complex and often confusing movements, three stand out as particularly definite and clear-cut, having already attained such a measure of success that it is not altogether too early to begin studying them historically.

As we differentiate in the West the Renaissance in the narrow sense, i.e., the artistic revolution; the Reformation, i.e., the religious revolution; the Political Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution; so we may distinguish already, on the very much smaller scale of about thirty years, three revolutions which have at least started in China: the political revolution, the educational revolution, and the literary revolution. It is this last which I propose to sketch here.

We have seen how the most prominent of the literati and the young students in the schools threw themselves enthusiastically into the work of the political revolution. This however ended in considerable disillusion. Mr. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao in his "Chinese Learning under the Ch'ing dynasty" gives as his conclusion about his master K'ang Yu Wei's and his own political writings and activities, that they were a mistake. Some similar feeling has been prevalent among the best of the students after the period of strikes and political excitement.

So the scholars found it best to stick to their books and to their proper work of educating the minds of the nation. And most fortunately they were led by a few of their number to concentrate their attention and their efforts on the problem of a *national language*.

This time the work was entirely in the scholars' line. And not only were they to be fully successful in solving the problem, but through their work in that connection they were to bring about indirectly greater changes in the life of the country, even in the political realm, than they could ever have hoped to cause through the more direct and spectacular methods.

I. The Need of a Living Literary Language.

Westerners have generally been alive to the weakness of the language situation in China. As Mr. Wells puts it in his Outline of History (chapter 31, §8): "Many people are disposed to find the operating cause which has, in spite of her original advantages, retarded China so greatly during the last four or five centuries, in the imprisonment of the Chinese mind in a script and in an idiom of thought so elaborate and so difficult that the mental energy of the country has been largely consumed in acquiring it." But like most foreigners Mr. Wells is hypnotized by the

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difficulty of the Chinese script, the ideographic characters, and thinks that it is the absencé of a phonetic alphabet which is responsible for the traditionalism of China.

Whatever truth there may be in this view, there is another feature in the language situation which has had an infinitely greater retarding influence. And it is rather strange that Westerners should have such a difficulty in seeing it, when there is in European history an exact parallel in the case of Latin. The Latin in which Cicero wrote was already different, as he tells us, from what he used in talking to his servants. But that form of Latin remained in use during fifteen centuries as the sole formal literary medium of civilized Europe. This bondage to the forms of a dead tongue was broken only by the Renaissance movement, the liberating effects of which were largely made possible through the instrumentality of the new national languages.

In the same way, the Chinese which is found in the classics was already a dead language in 120 B.C., when we are told that many public officials were unable to understand the imperial edicts and laws written in it. I should even surmise that, while Latin could be and actually was spoken even after it was dead, the Chinese of the classics never was a true spoken language. The knowledge of this Chinese Latin was kept up by the wonderful but very artificial system of literary examinations, whereby only those with a thorough knowledge of the classical language could receive official appointment. This method maintained the privileged position of the classical language for two thousand years (while Latin did so for fifteen hundred).

As a matter of fact, however effective the examination system was, it could not suppress entirely all literary use of the spoken language, nor keep all literary productions in the language of the people in utter contempt. The popular songs of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries (古樂府) were appreciated by the T'ang scholars, whose poetry they influenced considerably. It is said of one of the greatest poets of that brilliant period, 白居易, that he would reject or revise what an old uneducated woman could not understand in his poems. In the same period an important Buddhistic school (禪) wrote down their discourses in the spoken language and the success of this method led Chu Hsi and other philosophers to use a sort of conversational style in their writings. Under the barbaric Mongol dynasty, the classical tradition suffered greatly : popular drama flourished, even scholars writing drama in the vulgar language, and the novel had its beginnings. This healthy growth of the literary use of common par-

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lance was arrested by the native and conservative dynasty of the Ming, who again prescribed very rigid forms for prose and poetry composition at civil examinations and so stopped the reforming spirit among scholars. Novels, however, continued to be written in the conversational style, but they were published anonymously, and it was not until the Ch'ing period that the growing prestige of the novel allowed gentlemen to sign their works of fiction. In the 19th century, the translation of the Bible into the popular tongue, and its diffusion among the less cultivated classes, was a demonstration of the possibilities of the spoken language in the expression of new ideas and for the education of the common people.

But with these few exceptions, wen-li reigned supreme and the crushing weight of the official regulations for admission to civil service made virtually all writing an imitation of the classics, an empty formalism. The worst feature of the system was that the whole of education was poisoned by it ; as Mr. Lin Yü T'ang 林玉堂 writes in the Peking Leader's " China in 1918," p. 123 : " The old monster tyrant, the science of literary acrobatism, has killed *my* time in *my* school days, and positively hindered the development of my reasoning powers . . . leading youth away into tortuous paths that require years of stumbling and lead only to the mirage of a false literary garnish and the self-deluded glory of the mere ability to handle a pen at the cost of a total death of thought." Such is the hardly avoidable result of the exclusive use of a dead language as contained in an ancient literature of limited range : the student must have his mind shaped in the image of the ancients ; he cannot allow himself new thoughts since they would require terms non-existent in the classics ; if he is to speak as they spoke, he must think as they thought.

People in foreign countries often ask : " Have the Chinese any choice in the matter of a literary medium ? Are they not compelled to use the oldest form of their language because it is the only one that is common to them all ? Has not the ancient speech subdivided itself into an infinite variety of dialects, from Cantonese to Foochowese and Shanghaiese and so on throughout the country ? When there are so many hundreds of dialects, how can you speak of *the* national language ?" This is one of the deepest misconceptions about China. Early foreigners, sailing by way of India, happened to hit first the coast from Canton to Shanghai, where the different regions are separated by mountain barriers, within which the people have lived undisturbed for a thousand years, and for that reason have indeed developed

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numerous distinct dialects. But all the remaining country, about nine-tenths of the area of China, has been swept by vast migratory movements which have caused a constant readmixture of the population, whether invading barbaric tribes which had to learn Chinese, or Chinese settling in new territories. Throughout this vast area, practically the same language is spoken, i.e., the people are intelligible to one another from Kirin to Yünnan. This region being that where popular poetry, popular drama, and the popular novel were started, its language was adopted even by the Southerners when they wrote those forms of literature. The fact that the court was in the North and that its language was the official one for all " mandarins " (官話), also made it the indisputably best candidate to the dignity of a national language.

What was needed then, was a conscious movement among the educated class of China, to recognize and to proclaim mandarin, or better, *pai hua* 白話, the plain speech of the vast majority of the people, as a real national language, the fit instrument of a living literature in all of its forms.

II. The Literary Reformers.

The favourable environment for this literary revolution was provided by the National University in Peking, especially after its reorganization by Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan P'ei 蔡元培 in 1917 ; and the organ for its expression was ready in the magazine " La Jeunesse," Hsin Ch'ing Nien 新青年, started in September 1915, By Professor Ch'en Tu Hsiu 陳獨秀, dean of the College of Letters in that University. This monthly dealt in a very fearless way with political and social problems ; in literature it stood for realism. Of course, like all other magazines and newspapers which had appeared in the preceding years, it was written in the classical language.

The revolutionary doctrine, the literary theory which was to form the basis of the movement, was in the meantime slowly working itself out in the discussions of a group of Chinese students in several colleges of the United States. In 1915, one of them, Mr. Suh Hu (胡適 or 胡適之) wrote in their monthly that the Chinese classical language was dead, or at least half dead. The following year, he criticized a friend for using in a poem several antiquated words from the Book of Odes, words really unintelligible save to a very few scholars. To an indignant protest he retorted by a poem in the *spoken* tongue : in it he said that *pai hua*, the popular language, should be used in all forms of writing, in poetry as well as in prose, if a " living literature " was to be produced. In August Mr. Hu took the solemn decision never

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more to write any verse except in *pai hua* (the resulting poems were published in book form in March 1920 under the title "Experimental Poetry" (嘗試集). The outcome of the lively discussion which had thus been raised among college friends was a paper by Mr. Hu which was sent to the home land and appeared in January 1917 in the magazine Hsin Ch'ing Nien, under the title "Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature" (文學改良芻議). It should be noted that this article was in wen-li. It gave some very pointed advice: "Do not imitate the ancients; discard time-worn literary conventions, classical allusions, and the parallel construction of sentences. Be not afraid of the common speech: the popular language alone is a fitting medium for the living literature which China must create."

Dean Ch'en Tu Hsiu, with a leader's insight and true revolutionary vigour, at once supported the new idea. The February issue of Hsin Ch'ing Nien contained an article by him, entitled "A Literary Revolution" (文學革命論) which was the hoisting of the insurgents' banner. He proclaimed three principles:

"Overthrow the old aristocratic literature and establish a literature of the people.

Overthrow the literature of classicism and establish a literature of realism.

Overthrow the literature which is secluded from the world and establish a social literature."

The new popular realistic, social literature could not come to be except in the spoken language. While Mr. Suh Hu was still keeping an open mind on the subject and inviting discussion, Mr. Ch'en affirmed: "The theory that *pai hua* must be the proper form of Chinese literature is now self-evident. We cannot allow any discussion on this point." This dogmatic attitude aroused a great deal of opposition, and thereby of attention and interest.

One of the first to join the reform movement was Mr. Ch'ien Hsüan T'ung 錢玄同, a man with a great prestige in academic circles, being professor of Chinese philology at the National University and a disciple of the famous scholar Chang Ping Lin 章炳麟. He made a number of valuable contributions to the new doctrine and his support gave added impetus to the movement.

In March, 1917, Hsin Ch'ing Nien gave its first article in the popular language: Dr Suh Hu's translation of Maupassant's "The two Fishermen." During the rest of the year, a number of pieces in *pai hua* were printed, chiefly translations, letters to the editor and speeches.

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Beginning with January, 1918, Hsin Ch'ing Nien was written practically entirely in *pai hua*, giving even poetry in the popular language. This bold departure was decided by a new board of editors, which included Messrs. Ch'en Tu Hsiu and Ch'ien Hsüan T'ung, already mentioned, Dr. Suh Hu, now professor of philosophy, Mr. T'ao Lü Kung 陶履恭, professor of sociology, Prof. Li Ta Chao 李大釗, librarian, and Mr. Liu Fu 劉復, professor of Chinese, all of the National University. Apart from the six editors, the most important contributors were probably Mr. Chou Tso Jen 周作人, a remarkably able translator of modern Russian, Polish, Greek and Japanese authors, and his brother, a most successful writer of original short stories, who uses the *nom-de-plume* 魯迅; also Mr. Shen Yin Mo 沈尹默 perhaps the best *pai hua* poet of these years.

In September 1918, some of the students of the National University in Peking undertook to publish a magazine of their own. One of them, Mr. Fu Szŭ Nien 傅斯年 made a very good chief editor. They called their magazine "The New Tide," Hsin Ch'ao 新潮 and chose as its European name "The Renaissance." Those young men succeeded in creating a really first-class student paper, mature in judgment and substantial in argument, which helped the movement a great deal. In December of the same year, the untiring Ch'en Tu Hsiu launched "The Weekly Review" 每週評論 which also promoted the new literary ideas, at the same time dealing with political questions. A powerful ally joined the ranks of the reformers when Mr. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, probably the living writer with the greatest fame, took position against imitative literature, and began writing his Sunday lay sermons in the spoken language. Also several dailies, such as the Kuo Min Kung Pao 國民公報 of Peking and the Shih Shih Hsin Pao 時事新報 of Shanghai, began to write some of their editorials in *pai hua*.

The literary revolution was warmly discussed in numerous magazine articles and open letters. The adversaries of the use of the spoken language could not oppose very strong arguments as far as prose was concerned, since the great novels are in that language. But how could poetry which is the essence of beauty be produced in a language which has long been that of the low and vulgar and has never been polished by the usages of refined literature? The fight centred in Peking where some of the professors of the National University started an opposition magazine called "The National Heritage" 國故. The chief editor was Mr. Liu Kuang Han 劉光漢 or 劉師培, formerly connected with

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Yüan Shih K'ai's monarchical movement. But only four issues were published.

In the spring of 1919, the fight grew hotter, the animus of the conservatives expressing itself particularly in the attacks of Mr. Lin Shu 林紓, a well-known writer. He did not raise new arguments, but wrote a series of short stories in the classical language, ridiculing the leaders of the literary revolution. These stories appeared in the Hsin Shen Pao 新申報 of Shanghai. Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan P'ei, Messrs. Suh Hu, Ch'en Tu Hsiu and Ch'ien Hsüan T'ung figured in them under very transparent pseudonyms and were spoken of in abusive terms. In one of the stories, there occurs a description of a giant punishing the heretics in which it was easy to recognize an appeal to General Hsü Shu Cheng 徐樹錚, whose teacher Mr. Lin Shu had been. Hsü was at that time the all-powerful henchman of Tuan Ch'i Jui 段祺瑞, the chief of the military party then in control of the government.

In fact the reactionary politicians thought the time had come to call a halt to the radical movement of which the National University in Peking was the center. In March 1919 the members of the Anfu 安福 conservative party in the Senate talked of impeaching the Minister of Education and the Chancellor of the University for allowing corrupters of youth to hold positions in that institution. The minister, Mr. Fu Tseng Hsiang 傅增湘, was in sympathy with the University. He was satisfied by Chancellor Ts'ai's explanation that the professors who were publishing Hsin Ch'ing Nien were doing so in their individual capacity ; therefore that magazine was left unmolested. But the minister felt himself compelled to address a letter of censure to the University authorities for allowing their students to publish Hsin Ch'ao.

The main efforts of the reactionaries were concentrated on Mr. Ch'en Tu Hsiu who was indisputably the mainspring of the revolutionary spirit ; attacks on his private life were resorted to and succeeded in compelling him to leave the University.

A fine statement of the University's right to intellectual freedom was made in March by Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan P'ei in an open letter to Mr. Lin Shu, which was widely quoted.

In this moment of highest tension, Dr. Suh Hu published his second great article—in the spoken language this time,—entitled "A Constructive Literary Revolution" (建設的文學革命論). It appeared in the April number of Hsin Ch'ing Nien. In it he took up again his previous arguments which he summed up under four principles :

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"Write only when you have something to say."
"Write what you have to say and write it as it is actually said."
"Write in your own words, not in somebody else's."
"Write in the language of your time."

This article sounded a war cry: "No dead language can produce a living literature. If China wants a living literature, it must be in the living language." And as a constructive policy for making the despised vulgar tongue a language of beauty, Dr. Hu repeated with driving emphasis: "Produce literature in the national language and you shall have a national language of literary worth" (國語的文學, 文學的國語).

By this time, the brilliant attacks of the literary revolutionists, their fair measure of success, still more, the bitter attacks of the conservatives, had thoroughly stirred the scholars and students throughout the country. Still it was as yet nothing more than an academic debate which did not extend further than a narrow circle in the nation.

But just two or three weeks after Dr. Hu's second article, the news reached China that the Shantung question had been decided at the Paris Peace Conference in a way which was utterly unjust to China. Beginning on May 4th, 1919, the students, especially those of the National University in Peking, took the lead in rousing the country. When the government used forcible measures of repression, the students resorted to the strike; the merchants followed them in many cities, and even working men began to stir. This unexampled pressure of the public opinion, although it was backed by no armed force, compelled the government to release the students they had kept confined and to dismiss three high officials who were typical representatives of the pro-Japanese party and were popularly considered national traitors.

And there we have an historical puzzle: how on earth could these students' and merchants' strikes affect the academic debate on the language of literature?

Yet so they did: was it that the National University, which had taken the lead of this victorious agitation, had become so popular throughout the country that its popularity extended to its literary theories? Was it that the students, under a new sense of their responsibility as leaders of the people, realized that the task of transmitting modern education to the common folk could only be done through *pai hua*? The fact is that the opposition against the literary revolution was drowned under a flood of literature in the spoken tongue, which was now recognized

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as the Kuo Yü 國語, the national language. This literature was practically all in the form of periodicals, weeklies or monthlies, started mostly by students. It is estimated that about four hundred new periodicals in the vulgar tongue were started in 1919. The daily newspapers also took to writing editorials and the more important news correspondences in the spoken language; their daily supplements, formerly devoted to largely imaginary news of actors and sing-song girls, were now filled with reports of educational and philosophical lectures and with translations of short stories from Western writers, virtually all of it in Kuo Yü. One paper, the National Language Daily 國語日報, was and is still entirely in the spoken language. Innumerable poets published their effusions in *pai hua* in magazines and in dailies.

Possibly the most significant of all the indications of victory was the recommendation of the National Educational Association 全國教育會, in October, 1919, that the spoken language alone be taught in primary schools and used in text-books for those schools. Consequent to this, the Ministry of Education decreed in January, 1920 that, beginning in the autumn of that year, the Chinese taught in the first two years of primary schools should be spoken Chinese. This order seems to have been obeyed, not only in the provinces recognizing the authority of the Northern Government, but still more universally in the Southern provinces. And many Middle and Normal schools have voluntarily adopted text-books in Kuo Yü.

III. The Outcome of the Movement.

Now that the first wave of enthusiasm has passed, it is natural to find that the four hundred magazines started in the spoken language in 1919 have been considerably reduced in number, to possibly about one hundred. Most of them being published by students, they were likely to be short-lived. And in proportion to the number of available writers and translators, four hundred was certainly an excessive number, and its reduction is no serious loss.

Taking that mass of magazines as a whole, one may roughly estimate the number of original articles therein contained to be 40 per cent., translations or adaptations forming the remaining 60 per cent. Only about 10 per cent. of the articles are of a scientific nature, about 40 per cent. are purely literary, mostly short stories and poetry; and practically 50 per cent. of the total is devoted to philosophical, ethical and political discussions of a rather general and popular nature.

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This can be truly called a magazine movement. Books play in it only a secondary part. And even the books are published in series, *ts'ung shu*, 叢書; at least two hundred have been published since 1918 in fifteen or twenty series, each of them edited under the guaranteeing leadership of some well-known scholar or publishing house. The main object of most of these series is to furnish reliable translations of ıportant foreign works.

In fact one may say that 95 per cent. of all the books issued in Kuo Yü are translations, among which scientific works are few; these are very often adaptations rather than translations, and there are more of them on social science than on physical science. Most translated books are novels, short stories and plays.

The books published in the national language which are original works are generally collections of short stories and poems. As to original works of a strictly scientific character, they can probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. Dr Suh Hu's "History of Chinese Philosophy" 中國哲學史大綱 of which one volume has appeared in 1919, is probably the most important. Although not written in the pure spoken language, three books of Mr. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao should be mentioned here because of their modern scholarship and because in vocabulary, style and punctuation they show the influence of the literary revolution: "The school of Mo-ti" 墨子學案; "Chinese Scholarship under the Ch'ing dynasty" 清代學術概論, published in 1921; and "Methods for the study of Chinese History" 中國歷史研究法, published in January of this year and intended as an introduction to further writings on Chinese history.

Another type of books should be mentioned: the reprints of classical novels in popular language. Dr. Suh Hu has edited four of them: the "Shui Hu Chuan" 水滸傳; the "Hsi Yu Chi" 古本西遊記, made known by Dr. Timothy Richard as "A Mission to Heaven"; "The Literati" 儒林外史; and "The Dream of the Red Chamber" 紅樓夢. This edition gives the original text with modern punctuation, which of course contributes greatly to a proper understanding, and provides critical introductions.

A word should be said about the aspect of all the new magazines and books. They are not on thin old-fashioned paper, but on stronger paper printed on both sides, and bound in Western fashion, generally in paper covers, occasionally in cloth. Sometimes the text is in horizontal lines reading from left to right. Always modern signs of punctuation are used: commas, semicolons, colons, stops, exclamation and interrogation marks, etc.

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In spite of the fact that probably only a minority of students and other educated people have become convinced adherents of the movement, still we may say, on the basis of the count we have taken of the literary work already achieved, that the movement has conquered. It is no longer fashionable to oppose writing in Kuo Yü. The great publishing houses, which in 1917 refused to consider printing *pai hua* novels, find considerable profit in doing so now and they are competing for the publication of school texts in the popular language.

Of the considerable mass of literature already produced, little will be of permanent value. It includes chiefly literary effusions in which very young men and women attempt to express new and old modes of feeling in a language in which very few are experts as yet, and wordy generalizations along good old deductive lines on popular social, ethical and philosophical subjects of which the youthful minds have hardly begun to see the intellectual implications.

Words only ! a critic might say. But is not the learning of words a fundamental part of mental education ? A new thought life requires the creation of a new vocabulary and its adoption by a reading public out of which and for which creative writers can grow. And that is the work which is being done. It will make an interesting chapter of Chinese history when the tropical growth of the national vocabulary in these recent years can be studied and described. The thesaurus of Chinese monosyllabic words provides inexhaustible material for the composition of the polysyllables of the spoken language. New terms are easily coined in a manner similar to that of Greek and besides which the German method is clumsy. Quite a number were originally composed by the Japanese, who had to draw on Chinese for scientific terms as Europeans on Greek, and later taken back by the Chinese.

The forces of the Renaissance have practically concentrated during the last five years on this Kuo Yü problem. One may say that the Renaissance has so far not accomplished anything else. But how much it has done thereby ! It has provided an effective vehicle for the expression of foreign modern thought of which Chinese formerly could acquire a correct knowledge only through the medium of English or another tongue, wen-li being lamentably inadequate for translation. Now Western philosophy and science can be presented with a great degree of accuracy in the flexible and adaptable new language. Original thought, freed at last from the iron-bound categories of classical logic, can come to a conscious existence through self-expression. And a

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point of importance for foreigners : we who were in effect debarred from a real understanding of the Chinese mind as long as it expressed itself in a language which it took a lifetime to master, are now enabled to come into immediate contact with modern Chinese thought as formulated in the quite manageable mandarin.

Besides its enormous effect on the development of the general Renaissance movement, the establishment of the common speech as a literary language has greatly strengthened two other reforms which are in fact also parts of the literary revolution.

One is the unification of the spoken language. The republican government has been conscious of the value it would have for the political unity of China if the Southern coast region could adopt to as large an extent as possible the use of the dialect of the rest of the country. But nothing the government could do was so effective as the enthusiasm for the literary use of the national language. If it was good for writing, it was surely good also for speaking. And students in places such as Soochow, who before then would not have listened to a speaker in the Northern dialect, formed now eager audiences for lecturers from the North. Students in Shanghai took to wearing badges with the inscription : " Unify the national language " 統一國語, as a sign that they were studying Mandarin.

The second movement is that for the use of a phonetic script. If Chinese throughout the country are to understand one another when they speak, the pronunciation must be unified, and the standard pronunciation must be indicated by a phonetic notation. So in order to facilitate the unification of the spoken language, which was so desirable for political purposes, the government called a nation-wide " Conference for the Standardization of Pronunciation" 讀音統一會. This conference met in 1913, determined on a set of 39 symbols 注音字母 to represent Chinese sounds, and by the method of a majority vote, settled what should be the pronunciation throughout China of every word in the language. Foreigners, hypnotized by the mysteriousness of Chinese characters, are apt to see in this last movement the essential part of the literary revolution. To quote again Mr. Wells, giving his reference to both the movements for the use of the spoken language in literature and of the phonetic script : " What stands in the way of any phonetic system of Chinese writing to day is this, that while the literary script and phraseology is the same from one end of China to the other, the spoken language of the common people, both in pronunciation and its familiar idioms, varies so widely that men from one province may be in-

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comprehensible to men from another. There is, however, a standard Chinese, a rather bookish spoken idiom, which is generally understood by educated people ; and it is upon the possibility of applying an alphabetical system of writing to this standard Chinese that the hopes of modern educational reformers in China are based at the present time."

The phonetic script is used now to indicate the pronunciation of new words in the primary school readers : this of course is in line with the main purpose of the government in creating it. Still, the most vigorous promotion of this greatly simplified writing is being done by the Christian Church whose aim is to make every Church member a reader of the Bible, and to this end the whole of the New Testament has already been printed in phonetic script, without any ideographic characters. But we can hardly maintain Mr. Wells' statement that this alphabetical writing is the basis of the hopes of educational reformers. I shall not attempt to decide whether the foreigners are wrong in giving too much importance to the difficulty of characters, or whether the leaders of the literary revolution, in remaining faithful to the traditional script, prove themselves to be still insufficiently revolutionary.

Whether the Chinese of the future be written with characters or in phonetic script, the new language assures the possibility of the development of a new thought, and consequently a new life, adapted to the new circumstances, and a fitting contribution to the new world. I would therefore not hesitate to say that this literary revolution, the crisis of which was in 1919, is of deeper and more far-reaching importance than the political revolution of 1911.

The above having been prepared to be read as a paper was not provided with notes and references. It should be mentioned, however, that I have, at Dr. Suh Hu's own suggestion, freely borrowed facts and occasionally phrases from Dr. Suh Hu's following articles in English :

A Literary Revolution in China, in the Peking Leader's "China in 1918," p. 116.

Intellectual China in 1919, in the Peking Leader's "China in 1919," p. 9.

The Literary Revolution in China, in "Some Aspects of Chinese Civilization,' privately printed for the World's Student Christian Federation Conference at Peking, April, 1922.

The National Language of China, to be printed in a volume published by the American University Club of Shanghai.

Most of the important articles and letters written by Dr. Hu and others in the *pai hua* polemic are reprinted in Dr. Hu's "Selected Writing" 胡適文存.

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NOTE BY EDITOR:

The grateful reader will notice that this number has rather more than the usual amount of reading matter; but we are obliged to omit Notes and Queries and Recent Literature. This is because the editor is in such a state of extreme weakness that he can give no attention to business and has the doctor's orders to do no work.

There are in hand a number of interesting articles and we hope to be able later to make up for deficiencies and probable errors in the present number.

The foregoing note has proved to be the last word of the Editor to his readers. After a long and brave struggle with ill-health, he became rapidly worse and died on June 15th. At his request the *Review* will be continued to the end of the year through the collaboration of his widow, his secretary, and another personal friend.

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